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Amusements in the Republic of Texas

By WILLIAM RANSOM HOGAN

Scholars have generally neglected the study of amusements in past American life.¹ A few lines or paragraphs on man's behavior in his comparatively carefree hours have been, it is true, occasionally included in historical monographs or textbooks. Such inclusions have apparently had the purpose of adding inconsequential piquancy to weighty and seriously considered facts, or perhaps of indicating the writers' broad-minded tolerance of "social history." Nevertheless, amusements have not been given thoroughgoing attention by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, or historians, except possibly by a few of the so-called social variety. For examples, horse racing, dancing, amateur theatricals, and circuses have yet to find their historians. Still an abandonment of this reluctance to dig out the facts about various amusements, using the same diligence heretofore employed in unearthing the last bit of pertinent data about minor political subjects, is conceivable. This change may be brought by a growing tendency toward putting into practice the logical viewpoint that the record of *all* human experience is significant. A real acceptance of the concept of "an all-embracing breadth for history" may become actuality. As a result, social history may come to be regarded as something more than background material for studies in politics and economics. The convenience of some of the timeworn general divisions of history, usually based on political or military happenings, may be seriously questioned. More specifically, the recreation and fun-seeking devices of a people may possibly come to be considered as among the decisive factors in their history instead of one of several almost indiscernible peripheries of the politico-economic "covering" of

¹ This paper in a condensed form was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Providence, Rhode Island, December 31, 1936.

the past. Will the historian of the future, as he attempts to take an objective view of our own generation, be able to quiet his professional conscience if he ignores the amusements, recreations, sports, and other diversions which have had such important "escape values" (vicariously or directly) and furnished employment for millions of Americans in the first third of a highly geared, mechanistic twentieth century?

No extravagant claim is made for amusements in preannexation Texas—admittedly, that which is important in one age may not necessarily be equally so in another. Yet an examination of the subject may illuminate other phases of existence in early Anglo-American Texas, as well as reveal something of the lusty spirit of that frontier.

Although in this brief study emphasis will be placed on the decade of independence which followed the Texas Revolution of 1835-1836, it will be recognized that some of the cultural roots of the Republic extended back into the period of colonization under Mexico, beginning in the early 1820's. The Texas of those years possessed an agricultural frontier society living in a wooded, well-watered area, all of which was in what now constitutes the eastern half of the state. As the result of a continuous flow of immigration, this society was marked by fluidity in its growth and constant expansion from centers along the coast and eastern boundary. At the time of annexation by the United States, the Anglo-American population was approaching one hundred thousand.² The preponderantly Southern origin of this people was reflected in their amusements.

The characteristic forms of neighborly frolicking connected with labor were common in Texas. Newcomers to a community were often greeted by house-raising and housewarmings. Later they helped give similar welcomes to other new settlers, and took part in logrollings, rail splittings, chopping frolics, and quilting bees.³

² This estimate, given in E. C. Barker, *Texas History for High Schools and Colleges* (Dallas, 1929), 358, is here accepted.

³ For descriptions of logrollings and housewarmings, see G. L. Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas* (Dallas, 1932), 230; and Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County," (University of Texas transcript), III, 32. For an interesting account of logrolling in "our Western settlements," see *New Orleans Daily Delta*, January 15, 1846, in which logrolling is characterized as "a kind of republican system of mutual assistance." An idealized

Consideration of such community enterprises has led one historian to depict the American frontier of this period as limited to this type of amusements and dreary in social life. In *The Rise of the Common Man*, which deals with the period 1830-1850, Carl Russell Fish disposes of frontier amusements in this paragraph:

Conditions on the frontier were such as necessity required rather than what people chose to make them. Social life was mainly what could be fitted in with the requirements of labor, and was largely connected with neighborly assistance on such occasions as harvesting, house raising, corn huskings and the like. Such events were infrequent, and Margaret Fuller, who was sent West by Horace Greeley to report on conditions, gave a sympathetic picture of the drabness of the women's lives and the tragedy of sensitive souls wrenched from the closer knit civilization of the East.⁴

This treatment of amusement activity on the Western fringes of settlement leaves an impression which is contrary to the facts and misses the enterprising, hearty, "I'll be damned first" temper of affairs in the "Bachelor Republic"—which Fish includes in or beyond what he terms "the occupied frontier." The struggle for survival in Texas was not so rigorous that the settlers were prevented from having a great deal of wholesome fun, much of which was with their neighbors. The "lone-wolf" pioneer, who moved on when neighbors began to settle about him, was not an ordinary type; on the contrary, even the expanding edges of settlements were marked by small clusters of the houses of homemakers, often grouped around protective stockade forts. Beginning almost contemporaneously with house-raisings and logrollings, barbecues and dances were held (especially on holidays and election days) with increasing prevalence.⁵ Visiting and courting were among the attractions of camp meetings.⁶

but basically accurate description of a quilting bee held in the San Jacinto Bay region about 1840 is in "Reminiscences of C. C. Cox, I," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Society* (Austin, 1897-), VI (1903), 127. With volume XVI (1912), this publication became the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

⁴ Carl Russel Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927), 150.

⁵ Since this paragraph was written, a similar statement about another frontier has been noticed in R. Carlyle Buley, "Glimpses of Pioneer Mid-West Social and Cultural History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), XXIII (1937), 482.

⁶ The extrareligious attractions of camp meetings are not considered at length in this paper. They did not reach the height of their vogue until after Texas was annexed by the

Noah Smithwick was an old-timer who vividly described the bitter experiences which were the lot of the settlers in Stephen F. Austin's first colony of three hundred persons. Smithwick quoted the old commonplace that "Texas was a heaven for men and dogs, but a hell for women and oxen." But the same author also wrote: "They were a social people, these old Three Hundred, though no one seems to have noted the evidence of it. There were a number of weddings and other social gatherings during my sojourn in that section."⁷ A few years afterward Texas was accurately, if not fully, characterized in an immigrant's letter to a friend in "the States" as a "free fighting, stock raising, money hunting country."⁸ Accordingly, a major portion of its amusements were vigorous and masculine.

Various diversions were in the border zone between sport and the actual labor of searching for food. Fishing and hunting of varied kinds, including co-operative bear and buffalo hunts and wolf chases, naturally had more of an aspect of sport to visitors than to many permanent settlers, except on a few coastal plantations.⁹ Yet in 1847, a German scientist reported that buffalo were killed more often by settlers for sport and meat than for skins.¹⁰ In their descriptions of hunting methods outsiders were more explicit than those who lived in Texas. An English-

United States. This view has the concurrence of Professor S. E. Asbury, an authority on Texas camp meeting songs, to whom the writer is indebted for an illuminating letter on the subject.

⁷ Noah Smithwick, *Evolution of a State or Recollections of Old Texas Days* (Austin, 1900), 15, 39.

⁸ H. Clay to James W. Johnson, from "Austin's Colony," April 28, 1832, Clay Papers (University of Texas Library, Austin). All manuscripts and transcripts of manuscripts used in this paper will be found in University of Texas Library, unless otherwise indicated.

⁹ Abner Stroebe, *The Old Plantations and Their Owners of Brazoria County, Texas* (Houston, 1930), 42, says that each plantation had its pack of hounds. *Spirit of the Times* (New York, 1831-1861), XVI (1846), 558, contains "A Texas Hunting Song" of doubtful lyrical merit, written by "W. H. R." at "the plantation of Colonel Reuben Brown, in Texas on the evening previous to a great hunt."

¹⁰ Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes* (Bonn, Ger., 1849), 233. This book contains many other references to the Texans' hunting and fishing activities, and is one of the most trustworthy accounts of life in early Texas. Roemer, first geologist of note to visit Texas, came in 1844 and stayed eighteen months. For an excellent summary of his life, see S. W. Geiser, "Naturalists of the Frontier: IX. Ferdinand von Roemer and his Travels in Texas," in *Southwest Review* (Austin, Dallas, 1915-), XVII (1932), 421-60.

man writing from Fort Bend in 1843 described the typical method of attracting deer at night with fire, or crude lamps, adding, "I suppose few Englishmen would credit that in this land of Leatherstockings, Hawkeyes, and Crocketts, deer are killed with greater ease at night than previous to sundown."¹¹ And after several trips to Texas, George Wilkins Kendall, editor of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, wrote articles describing and praising the hunting and fishing between the San Gabriel and Little rivers.¹²

Another type of hunting was mentioned in an 1841 newspaper report, which stated that 180 volunteers and 10 or 12 Indian spies had left Houston "in pursuit of Comanches and for sport generally; and a determination was expressed by them to remain out during the whole summer unless a respectable body of Indians could be found sooner."¹³ Similar testimony came in 1838 from young James Nicholson as he wrote from Bastrop to his wife in New York: "my landlady tells me she kept at bay 50 Indians by pointing a gun at them. . . . The children here have no fear of them—the women care nothing about them and the men think no more of hunting and fighting them than they do deer—nay they think it sport." Since the writer of this letter was probably reassuring his wife that life in the new country was not so hazardous as she had feared, his testimony deserves a reasonable discount. A sense of sport in the unequal though precarious warfare against both Indians and wild animals did occasionally exist among experienced Indian fighters, though of course not among the mothers of families.¹⁴

The same hardihood or daredeviltry or desire to escape laws or customs which brought immigrants to the new country, and enabled them

¹¹ "A correspondent of the London 'Sunday Times,' Fort Bend, Texas, August 26, 1843," who signed the initials "P. B.," in *Spirit of the Times*, XIII (1843), 433. See, also, A. A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas. Comprising a Journey of Eight Thousand Miles, through New-York, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Louisiana and Texas, in the Autumn and Winter of 1834-5* (Concord, 1835), 140-41.

¹² See, especially, New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 1, July 26, 1845.

¹³ Reprint from Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register*, in Houston *Morning Star*, June 2, 1841.

¹⁴ James Nicholson to Mrs. James Nicholson, June 27, 1838, James Nicholson Papers. J. Frank Dobie, *The Flavor of Texas* (Dallas, 1936), 139, supports the general idea of this paragraph.

to stay there, led them to seek diversion with vehemence and lack of restraint. It should not be surprising, therefore, that dancing and horse racing were among the most common amusements. This was true even on the borders of settlement in the interior, though the *Spirit of the Times*, a sporting journal widely read in the thirties and forties, expressed a measure of astonishment in noticing the racing meet held in 1838 at Velasco, on the coast, with a column headed: "Jockey Club in Texas!—We shall hear of one [in] Astoria directly."¹⁵ If opportunities for dances were sometimes few, they were extended to last for days as compensation. If the social standards of the period or the lack of available women prohibited their appearance in amateur theatrical productions, the men in the small Texas villages organized dramatic clubs and played the female parts themselves. The more robust among them, with a healthy and humorous outlook on life, found one emotional floodgate in enormous numbers of practical jokes. A theory is reasonably tenable that this form of amusement reached its all-time height in American frontier communities such as those in Texas.

The more serious minded young men in every town and frontier academy organized "lyceums" or debating clubs. At their meetings forensic talents were exercised in harangues over questions which may indicate something of the intellectual tendencies of the day. Examples of debating subjects repeatedly used were: "Ought the Texian government to have put Santa Anna to death in 1836?"; "Has the use of tobacco a more injurious tendency, morally and physically, on manhood than the use of ardent spirits?"; and that ageless controversy, "Are the minds of females susceptible of as high cultivation as those of men?" A Methodist minister wrote his mother the following description of a debate held at Mackenzie College, a frontier academy near Clarksville:

The students have a debating society which meets weekly. On Friday night while in the sitting room in company with bros. Stovall and Davis, the latter preacher in charge,—we were waited upon by a couple of young gentlemen who announced themselves as a committee appointed, to invite us into the society. The exercises were in progress as we entered, which consisted in reading compositions previous to the discussion of the subject.

¹⁵ *Spirit of the Times*, VIII (1838), 36.

The question read for debate was as follows: "Which is the stronger passion, love or hatred?" This was argued pro and con for some time. . . . A call was then made for Mr. Addison to participate in the debate. Your humble servant then arose and delivered his sentiments in favor of hatred being the stronger—not that he thought so; but the other side of the house had the best of the argument, and I thought I would assist the weaker party. The other preachers were invited to speak who respectively presented the merits of the two passions in glowing collors [*sic*]. But love was thought by the deciding power to be much the stronger—How much he may have been influenced by his own private views he did not tell us.¹⁶

Humorous, sentimental, and camp meeting songs were sung in Texas, as elsewhere.¹⁷ Typical songs were: "Am I Not Fondly Thine Own," "The Carrier Dove," "The Banks of the Blue Moselle," "Haste to the Wedding," "Yankee Doodle," and "Will You Come to the Bower." In group singings of these and other songs, the young people from the "forks of the creek" often found an adequate substitute for dancing when a musician was not available. In some of the towns visiting actresses and semiprofessional songsters gave concerts, and local groups occasionally presented public song programs.¹⁸ Meanwhile, along the musical instrument frontier in Austin's Colony were found "German jewsharps," a piano or two, and several guitars, flutes, and fiddles; by 1846 nearly every river valley had at least one piano and other instruments; and instances were not unknown where the mahogany legs of pianos rested on the dirt floors of log cabins. But fiddles (they were not called violins, and probably did not deserve the name) were usually the first musical instruments to be brought into new settlements.

The exuberance of the frontier had one characteristic musical expression in the sentimental and ribald tunes chorused by boisterous roisterers in the saloons as they became extremely hilarious during evenings in their cups. Carousing was not always confined to the otiose rowdies who spent a major portion of their time in the grogshops, often called

¹⁶ Oscar M. Addison to Sarah Addison, February 1, 1848, Addison Papers.

¹⁷ Other cultural activities, such as some forms of reading, could be classified as amusements, but are excluded from discussion here, chiefly because of space limitations.

¹⁸ Houston *Morning Star*, September 26, 1839; Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 21, 1840; Galveston *Daily News*, April 19, 1842; "Extracts from the Diary of W. Y. Allen, 1838-39," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1913), 47.

"groceries" or "doggeries." J. H. Herndon, who was in Houston on March 16, 1838, made the following entry in his candidly written diary: "Had a serenade and much carousing—The Vice-Prest. Atty. Genl . . . & others arraigned for riotous conduct."¹⁹ Rev. Littleton Fowler, a Methodist preacher stationed in Houston early in 1838, showed superlative lack of discretion in making a holiday trip to Galveston with a congressional party. His description of the excursion in a letter to a friend reveals a condition not infrequent aboard Galveston-to-Houston steamboats:

So soon as I recovered from my serious illness I took a trip to Galveston Island with the President [Sam Houston] and the members of Congress, and saw *great* men in *high* life. If what I saw and heard were a fair representation, may God keep me from such scenes in the future. . . . On our return on Sunday afternoon, about one-half on board got mildly drunk and stripped themselves to their linens and pantaloons. Their Bacchanalian revels and blood-curdling profanity made the pleasure boat a floating hell. . . . I relapsed from the trip and was brought near to the valley of death.²⁰

Carousing was especially common on the numerous holidays. The anniversaries of the battle of San Jacinto (April 21), the Texas Declaration of Independence (March 2), the Fourth of July, and Christmas, were the most generally celebrated.²¹

¹⁹ J. H. Herndon, "Diary of Trip from Kentucky to Texas, 1837-1838" (transcript), 14.

²⁰ "Jottings from the Old Journal of Littleton Fowler," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Society*, II (1899), 82. Excursions between Houston and Galveston were common. See, for examples, F. R. Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas; or, Memoirs of Francis Richard Lubbock, governor of Texas in war time, 1861-63. A personal experience in business, war, and politics* (Austin, 1900), 84; and J. K. Allen to A. Ewing, June 28, 1838, Ewing Papers (Texas State Library, Austin). Other excursion boat trips have been noted. In 1836 a steamboat was scheduled to run on the Brazos River from Columbia to Brazoria for a celebration of the battle of Concepcion (October 28). *Columbia Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 26, 1836. Two years later the *Columbia* was scheduled to run from Galveston to Velasco on a "pleasure trip" beginning on July 3. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1838. The steamship *Pioneer* carried a pleasure party ten miles up the Trinity River from the town of Cincinnati in 1839. Harriet Smither (ed.), "Diary of Adolphus Sterne," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXX (1927), 318.

²¹ Among many newspaper references to holiday celebrations, see particularly: *Brazoria Brazos Courier*, June 27, 1835; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 11, 1836; June 30, December 26, 1838; August 2, 1843; *Matagorda Bulletin*, October 18, 1837; February 21, 1839; *Austin City Gazette*, May 6, 1840; *Austin Texas Sentinel*, December 5, 1840; March 4, 1841; *San Augustine Red-Lander*, December 23, 1845.

Before the dances on patriotic holidays, there were always more restrained exercises. The programs included barbecues, parades by militia organizations, the serving of "collations," and the singing by children of such songs as "Watchman tell us of the night." Patriotic documents were publicly read. Prayers and the inevitable orations were delivered in the grandiloquent manner of the period by ministers and lawyers, such as "one of the most distinguished orators of the country, who had to arouse him besides his own genius, the thought that he himself was one of the heroes of the day."²² Then came dinners, which usually began in the middle of the afternoon, with one feature being the toasts. Typical toasts were: "Texas on the 2nd March '36, and Texas now. By her annual return from her hitherto unprescribed orbit, she has proved to the world that she is no transient meteor," and "The ladies, God bless them, they expect us at a ball tonight, and require every man to keep himself in condition for duty."²³

Other parts of holiday festivities have a more familiar ring to modern ears. In 1844 two local doctors arranged a "Montgolfier balloon" and fireworks display for the July Fourth celebration at Clarksville.²⁴ Less fortunately, on March 2 of the following year, one of the persons engaged in firing a salute at Galveston had an arm blown off.²⁵

The decoration of trees and exchange of presents at Christmas time were probably not customary in Texas before it was annexed by the United States, except among the German settlers. On Christmas Eve and the following day friends assembled to make merry in small groups. The festivities were often forwarded by the drinking of whiskey punch, "the national drink here with which Christmas is celebrated." Afterwards Negroes and whites had separate dances.²⁶ The sounds of dance

²² "Notes on Texas," *Hesperian* (Columbus, Ohio, 1838-1839), I (1838), 435. A detailed description of a typical celebration of this character can be found in J. H. Addison to J. W. Addison, July 12, 1842, Addison Papers.

²³ *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 21, 1837; *Brazoria Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

²⁴ *Clarksville Northern Standard*, July 5, August 7, 1844.

²⁵ Oscar Addison to I. S. Addison, March 2, 1845, Addison Papers. The first part of this letter is dated February 23, 1845.

²⁶ Roemer, *Texas*, 62. The Catholic missionary, E. Domenech, found in 1847 that Galveston Negroes were allowed to spend Sunday "à leurs deux passions favorites, la

music half tortured a Nacogdoches lawyer who sat writing a letter on Christmas Eve of 1839. The letter writer had "been on the water wagon" for nearly four months, and deserved commiseration as he wrote the following postscript:

. . . it is now 9 o'clock, P. M., and tomorrow's Christmas. The way the votaries of that jolly God Bacchus are 'humpin' it is curious. Fiddles groan under a heavy weight of oppression, and heel-taps suffer to the tune of "We Won't Go Home 'Till Morning", and now and then the discharge of firearms at a distance, remind me that merriment now despotic rules to the utter discomforture of dull care, while I, O Jeminy! have nothing stronger wherewith to lash my cold sluggish blood than Water.²⁷

All of the major and some of the minor amusements have thus far been mentioned. To particularize and to avoid too pronounced distortions in this modern sketch of an old picture, more extended consideration will hereinafter be given to dancing, gambling and horse racing, theatrical entertainment, and practical joking.

No pastime in American history has been carried out with more unstinted gusto than frontier dancing. A Texas woman explained how it met the psychological requirements for a Western diversion:

Times were too pregnant with excitement for grave pleasures to take strong hold of the minds of the people. . . . How could people sit often to listen to grave discourses when at every random shot of a gun their ears were on the alert for the cry of Indians. To be so situated as to have these quick vibrations operate nervously upon the brain predisposes the mind to seek relief in softer emotions of pleasure, but still one of excitement, consequently the dancing master found favor with the majority instead of the philosopher.²⁸

Dances were held on every possible occasion, even after funerals, and the scarcity of women only accentuated the frontier passion for

promenade et la danse." E. Domenech, *Journal D'un Missionnaire au Texas et au Mexique, 1846-1852* (Paris, 1857), 26. References to Negro dances elsewhere can be found in *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, September 15, 1841; Stroebel, *Old Plantations and Their Owners*, 42; D. T. Tarlton, "History of Cotton Industry in Texas, 1820-1850" (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1923), 97; William E. Bollaert Papers, 1840-1844 (Newberry Library, Chicago), II, 181.

²⁷ C. F. Taylor to James H. Starr, December 24, 1839, Starr Papers.

²⁸ Mrs. Julia Lee Sinks, "Texas Reminiscences" (transcript), V, 2. These reminiscences have been found to be generally reliable.

dancing. In 1839 a young man wrote: "We had three balls in Bastrop lately. . . . I paid but little attention to the ladies, contenting myself with a little girl about 11 years old for my partner. The men were so crazy [*sic*] after the grown up ladies that I never interfered with them."²⁹ To these dances, as was customary, mothers brought their babies, wrapped them in shawls and blankets, and left them beneath the temporary benches along the walls while they participated in the merriment. Stephen F. Austin once found his sister Emily "at a ball dancing away in fine spirits," when her baby was not six weeks old.³⁰

A single violinist customarily provided the music and many Negroes fiddled their way into white folks' favor. But the lack of a musician was often a serious problem. A partially facetious contemporary newspaper story told by an army captain who had found dancers in an East Texas tavern attempting to revive the only available fiddler, victim of an overdose of inspiration from his whiskey bottle, contains a genuine appraisal of this common problem. "The dancers," so went the story, "rolled the drunken man upon the floor, they stirred him up, they rubbed his head with vinegar, and they crammed an entire jar of Underwood's pickles down his throat—but all would not do." Although the captain had never played any sort of musical instrument, he offered to substitute for the drunken musician. When the dancers accepted enthusiastically, the captain took his place in the violinist's chair, picked up the fiddle, and made a few musicianlike flourishes and preliminary motions.

Once or twice he drew the bow scientifically across the strings, which were now horribly out of tune—flourishes which caused the eager dancers immediately to

²⁹ James Nicholson to Mrs. James Nicholson, April 19, 1839, Nicholson Papers. Girls often attended dances at early ages, and married early. On the whole, children took part in much of their elders' play and faced adult problems at an early age. Meager evidence on children's play activities has been noted. Among these are riding and hunting, killing snakes, tying snakes to dogs' tails, "mumblety peg," running games, various schoolroom pranks, and May Day celebrations in the girls academies.

³⁰ Stephen F. Austin to Mary Austin Holley, January 4, 1832, in E. C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers*, II (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1922, [Washington, 1928]), 733. The first volume of this work was published in the *Annual Report*, 1919 (Washington, 1924); the third by the University of Texas (Austin, 1926). A portion of the Austin Papers is unpublished.

commence "forwarding" across the floor—but the waggish captain had no intention of giving them a "send off" so suddenly.

At length, thinking he had infused a sufficiency of the effervescence of dancing into the eager set, he drew the cork by giving every string on the violin a general rake with the bow. Away they went like mad, Captain H. still sawing away, stamping his right foot as if keeping time, and calling the figure. . . . series of sounds came from the punished violin which would set a professor crazy; but so full of dance were the head and foot couple that they carried the thing with as much zeal as though they had been bitten by Italian tarantulas.

It may readily be supposed that the dancers had but a limited knowledge of music; but still they could tell, in their cooler moments, a tune from a tornado. The first two couple[s] had by this time finished, and the second had commenced, when one of the former addressed his partner with:

"Eliza, did you ever hear that tune he's aplaying afore?"

"Can't say that I ever has," was the response, and this within hearing of Captain H. who was still punishing the violin as severely as ever.

"Does it sound to you like much of a tune . . . any how?"

"Well, it doesn't."

"Nor to me either," said the first speaker, who all the while had his head turned to one side after the manner of a hog listening. "My opinion is that that feller there is naterally jest promiscuously and miscellaneously sawin away without exactly knowing what he's a doin'."

This was too much for the captain, who now dropped the violin and rushed from the room and sought his quarters for the night. Thus ended a ball in Eastern Texas.³¹

Other accounts of dances are more definitely descriptive. From them it is clear that it was no drawback that a log cabin floor was made of puncheons or consisted of bare earth. Even as the prevailing type of women's skirts has influenced dance styles in modern times, so the roughness of cabin floors made smooth dances impossible. As one settler said, "When young folks danced in those days, they danced; they didn't glide around; they 'shuffled' and 'double shuffled,' 'wired' and 'cut the pigeon's wing' making the splinters fly." After the men with boots had danced awhile, they exchanged their footgear for the moccasins worn by their less fortunate companions, who were thus enabled to take the floor and make the proper amount of noise. If "the din of

³¹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 11, 1843. Probably written by the editor, George Wilkins Kendall.

clattering feet" drowned out the music of the fiddler as he played "Molly Cotton-Tail," "Munny Musk," or "Leather Breeches," his efforts were often supplemented by those of other musicians using crude instruments such as a clevis, hoe and case knife, or a tin pan.³²

In the larger towns and on a few plantations, many balls were conducted with a certain amount of style.³³ The graceful performance of the cotillions and reels of the day were taught by the few dancing masters who found their way to Texas; among these was "Mon. Amadee Grignon" who charged the citizens of Houston and Galveston one dollar per lesson.³⁴ The presence of these teachers is only another small addition to the record which shows a considerable amount of dancing in the Republic.³⁵ A dance in a town was attended by practically the whole population—and a failure to receive an invitation might be the cause for a challenge to a duel.³⁶

There is little evidence that dancing met with the strong religious objections which were a part of the prevailing moral code in many

³² Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 40-41, 71, 153; J. L. Wallis and L. L. Hill (eds.), *Sixty Years on the Brazos: The Life and Letters of Dr. John Washington Lockhart, 1824-1900* (Los Angeles, 1930), 69-71, 88, 181; Bollaert Papers, II, 218.

³³ For examples, the "levee" in Houston given by President Sam Houston as he left office in late 1838, described by a Texas correspondent in the New Orleans *Weekly Picayune*, December 24, 1838, and in Ashbel Smith to "Will" [probably Will Locke of North Carolina], December 20, 1838, letterbook in Ashbel Smith Papers; the ball given at Austin in 1841 in honor of the minister from Yucatan, as described in the Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 6, 1841; and the Galveston ball of May 21, 1845, as described in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 1, 1845. See, also, Stroebel, *Old Plantations and Their Owners*, 42.

³⁴ *Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, May 17, 1839; Houston *Morning Star*, August 19, 1839. The Huntsville *Texas Banner*, December 8, 1846, mentions two dancing schools, and there was a dancing school in Austin before 1840. H. T. S. [?], "Life of John Haynie" (transcript), 12.

³⁵ See, for example, many references to East Texas dances in Smither (ed.), "Diary of Adolphus Sterne," *loc. cit.*, XXX-XXXVI (1926-1933). "Fandangos" were also common among the Mexican population in Texas, and startling variations of Spanish dances were learned by some American settlers. For a very interesting description of a Mexican dance in connection with a funeral, see William F. Gray, *From Virginia to Texas, 1835. Diary of Col. Wm. F. Gray giving details of his journey to Texas and return in 1835-36 and second journey to Texas in 1837, with preface by A. C. Gray* (Houston, 1909), 97. In 1830, a "fandango" at the home of William Goyens, a Nacogdoches free Negro, was mentioned in court testimony. Nacogdoches Archives (transcript), LI, 85.

³⁶ Matagorda *Bulletin*, December 6, 1838. A Matagorda public meeting decided, however, that this was "a matter not coming within the code of honor."

Texas communities after the country became more settled. A Methodist circuit rider wrote from the village of Montgomery in 1843 that he had gone three fourths of the way around his circuit and found "nothing cheering, or encouraging, many of the members having backslidden and are spiritually dead—some have been going to dancing school, and some have joined the Baptists!" But few preachers of any denomination crusaded against dancing; most of them were merely lukewarm on the subject; and at least one played the violin and even danced himself.³⁷ The truth seems to have been that they found evils more pernicious to combat in excessive gambling, fighting, swearing, and misuse of the Lord's Day. Even if they had been inclined to preach against square dancing, their condemnation may not have been effective because the membership of the churches, liberally estimated, did not constitute one fourth of the population. Furthermore, the frequency of dances points to a strong public sentiment supporting the amusement.³⁸

Both professional and amateur theatricals met with similar popular favor. The professional theater had its beginnings shortly after the Texas Revolution.³⁹ American actors and theatrical managers of that day were enterprising, sanguine souls who journeyed cross country or took boat to any place that might yield box-office receipts. Several stock companies came to Texas in the late 1830's and afterwards in the wake of the American army under General Zachary Taylor which some of them followed into Mexico. In accordance with theatrical custom the managers of these companies imported stars for limited engagements.

³⁷ Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 155. The quotation is from Oscar M. Addison to Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Addison, February 12, 1843, Addison Papers. For an example of half-hearted approval of dancing, see excerpt from a letter of Rev. Littleton Fowler, prominent Methodist minister, dated April 21, 1838, quoted in "Jottings from the Old Journal of Littleton Fowler," *loc. cit.*, 82.

³⁸ For a point of view opposite to that expressed in this paragraph, see Lota M. Spell, *Music in Texas* (Austin, 1936), 24.

"Play parties" were not prevalent in Texas before 1846. They existed in later times in communities where even square dancing was religiously taboo but "play parties" were nevertheless dances in which no musical instruments were used.

³⁹ The following brief discussion of theatrical and vaudeville entertainment is mainly a resumé of William R. Hogan, "The Theater in the Republic of Texas," *Southwest Review*, XIX (1934), 374-401.

Thus during its period of independence the Republic was visited by more than a dozen actors who had received top billing in American playhouses and had last appeared in New Orleans. Among these were Henry James Finn and Mr. and Mrs. John Barnes, who had entertained New York and Boston audiences for more than a decade and a half; the precocious young Joseph Burke; and J. R. Scott and Charles Eaton, known for their virile interpretations of Shakespearian parts. There came also young Joseph Jefferson, who was ultimately to surpass them all in fame but was then only a minor member of a stock company.

A major portion of early theatrical events of importance occurred in Houston. The story of the early theater in that city contains in itself the elements of a moving play—marriage, suicide, a fast working "gold digger" actress, turbulent audiences, and a rivalry between managers which, in 1838, gave the citizens opportunity to choose between programs of two competing companies. Third-rate stock companies also showed in Galveston, Corpus Christi, and the lower Rio Grande region, while stray professionals picked up a few dollars by appearing with amateurs in the small towns of Matagorda, Clarksville, and San Augustine. Magicians, minstrel shows, circuses, a "strong man," phrenologists, and ventriloquists likewise showed in Texas.

Many villages had lively amateur dramatic organizations usually called Thespian Societies, which supported and in some instances were an outgrowth of the professional theater. Dramatic productions were also staged in strictly rural communities, but an exact determination of their extent is difficult. In an autobiographical manuscript, James N. (Uncle Jimmy) Smith has left an interesting relation of such an attempt in 1840 in the Cuero Creek community, a scattered settlement on the Gonzales-Austin road, and one by no means free from Indian raids:

. . . The Young People would assemble at Mr Blairs of Saturday evening to sing . . . [wrote Uncle Jimmy].

After a while Doctor Duck Proposed to my Son James and the 2 young Scotchmen that they would Endeavor to Establish a Theatre or acting of Plays. He composed some very Good Pieces, and those who took part would prepare themselves, and the singings Sometimes give way to the Theatre. . . .

[In one play] one of the Scotchmen acted the part of an old lady; whose son

had volunteered in the play as a soldier . . . taking leave of Her Son, and Telling Him for the sake of his Mother never to be wounded in the Back. . . . My Son James acted a part of a young Lady in the Play. He was Dressed very nice Indeed in nice Ladys Dress, and made Quite a sensation among the crowd to Know who it was. . . . In This part of the Play There was a Quarrel with Two of the actors Respecting the young Lady who my Son James Represented, and some love letters written and Read until in the play They got quite Jealous of Each other and the Young Lady acted her part so well to the amusement of all the Assembly that the Play was almost Equal to any Theatre. . . . Before the play Ended the Two Young Lovers met in a Duel of Deadly Weapons and a Pistol Fired off and one of the Young Men . . . Fell Dead on the Floor to the Great Consternation of many in the House who Thought it was a Real Fight. The Scene Then changed and wound up with a Marriage Between the Lady actor and Her Lover who was My son in Ladies Dress and one of the Young Scotchman. This Indeed was a Brilliant affair for Cuero Creek.⁴⁰

Less cultural but more common amusements than theatricals were gambling and horse racing. A fever for gambling ran in the blood of the age. It was a prevailing social ailment in the South and reached an even higher temperature in Texas. In this Western republic the very presence of an individual was an indication of an above-the-ordinary willingness to take a chance,⁴¹ and speculation in land and town futures was a common form of legal gambling. Nacogdoches in the pre-Republic days had been known as a "gamblers' heaven" where every immigrant was considered fair sport for trimming by an organized ring.⁴² At San Felipe de Austin and Brazoria, leading villages in Austin's Colony, much of the gambling was centered around the game of billiards, which eventually became widely played in Texas towns.⁴³

⁴⁰ James N. Smith, "Autobiography of James N. Smith" (transcript), 194-97.

⁴¹ For typical testimony on the prevalence of gambling, see Houston *Morning Star*, August 14, 1839; "Notes on Texas," *Hesperian*, I (1838), 431; Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 262; J. K. Holland, "Reminiscences of Austin and Old Washington," *Quarterly of Texas State Historical Association*, I (1897), 94-95; Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 94, 96, 212.

⁴² Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 74-75. See, also, various complaints against illegal gambling establishments before 1836 in Nacogdoches Archives (transcripts). It is of interest to note that Stephen F. Austin stated that Hayden Edwards of Nacogdoches, leader of the Fredonian Revolt in 1826, had operated a roulette table in Mexico. Stephen F. Austin to Hayden Edwards, March, 1826, Austin Papers (MSS.).

⁴³ [Fiske?], *A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller through those parts most interesting to American Settlers with Descriptions of Scenery, Habits, &c. &c.* (New

Wagering was also carried on at cockfights and probably at the few nine- and tenpin alleys which had brief existences.⁴⁴

Gambling was most common at Houston, especially in its early years. After it was designated as the capital in 1837, it became one of the boom towns that have marked the early development of the agricultural, as well as the cattle raising and mining, trans-Mississippi West. The records of the district court there show hundreds of indictments, although few convictions, for "dealing faro," for "permitting gaming," and for "playing at cards."⁴⁵ On January 23, 1838, a traveler in Houston made the following notation in his journal: "[Stopping] at Floyd's Hotel. Visited Billiard room play games of billiards—successful—in the same house are 4 Faro Banks in addition to which are a large number of others in the place—the greatest sink of dissipation and vice that modern times have known. Place but nine months old and has a popu-

York, 1836), 193; Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, 175; and Brown, "Annals of Travis County," VII, 7. Smithwick, *Evolution of a State*, 69, states that the first frame building at San Felipe de Austin was used for a billiard hall and saloon.

In 1837 a yearly license fee of \$200 was levied by the national government on the operation of each billiard table. H. P. N. Gammell, *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, 10 vols. (Austin, 1898), I, 1319. In 1840 this fee was raised to \$250. *Ibid.*, II, 183. Municipal taxes were occasionally placed on the operation of billiard tables. For example, in 1839 each billiard table in Brazoria was subject to a municipal tax of \$50 per year. *Brazoria Brazos Courier*, December 3, 1839. See, also, William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas*, 2 vols. (London, 1841), II, 393.

⁴⁴ Brown, "Annals of Travis County," XII, 8, states that cockfighting in Austin in 1836 was a legacy from the Spaniards and Mexicans. Among references to nine- and tenpin alleys are "Memorials and Petitions to the Congress of the Republic of Texas," File 38, No. 22, April 19, 1838 (Texas State Library); *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 13, 1839; *Houston Morning Star*, July 29, 1843; Harrisburg County District Court Records (Harris County Courthouse, Houston), E, 25, 132. There were alleys at Houston, Galveston, San Felipe de Austin, and possibly elsewhere. In 1837 a \$150 yearly license fee was levied by the national government on the operation of "each nine pin alley, or any game of that kind." Gammell, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1319. In 1840 this fee was raised to \$200. *Ibid.*, II, 183.

⁴⁵ See, especially, Harrisburg County District Court Records, B, 70, 546-54; C, 16-22, 176-89, 353-63; D, 72. Fines ranged from \$25 to \$1000, and costs. The large percentage of cases dismissed probably resulted from difficulties in getting evidence and vigorous prosecution. Even the first district attorney of this court, A. M. Tomkins, was several times indicted for "gaming" after his term expired. The large number of indictments for gambling in these records, considered with other evidence and compared with other available county records, points to Houston in its early years as a gambling center.

lation of 2000.”⁴⁶ When the capital was moved to Austin, out on the edge of settlement, many of the professional gamblers followed. Included in its 1840 population of 856 were a score of professional gamblers whose operations centered around 6 faro banks.⁴⁷ In the same year the frontier village of Washington had a resident population approximating 250 persons and 50 to 100 transients, “principally gamblers, horse racers, etc., for this was a great resort for such characters. In almost every other house on the public street you could see games of all sorts being played, both night and day, and strange to say, nearly all the money of the country was in the hands of this class of people.”⁴⁸ Despite some signs that gambling was declining in frequency as the country became more settled, in 1846 there was still a large group of professional gamblers in Texas.

Although William Kennedy, the British consul who was strongly pro-Texan, claimed that the designation “professional” made a gambler an outcast among “respectable citizens,” it may be doubted that their reputations bothered the wagering gentry. This was especially true since any man could gamble at monte, faro, roulette, roly-poly, rouge et noir, or poker, or promote a lottery or place high wagers on a favored horse, without loss of community standing.⁴⁹

Gambling was especially prevalent in connection with horse racing. Even in “a little place like Columbus,” wrote the German Ferdinand Roemer, first geologist of note to visit Texas, “the wagers are sometimes quite large, single bets . . . amounting to as much as five hun-

⁴⁶ Herndon, “Diary of Trip from Kentucky to Texas, 1837-1838,” 5. See, also, “Jottings from the Old Journal of Littleton Fowler,” *loc. cit.*, 79; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 30, October 14, 1837; and “Notes on Texas,” *Hesperian*, I (1838), 431. A law against gambling was passed by Congress in 1837. Gammell, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1288-89. But attempts to enforce the law were sporadic and ineffectual.

⁴⁷ From a census of the population of Austin taken in 1840 by Rev. Amos Roark, Cumberland Presbyterian preacher. Brown, “Annals of Travis County,” VII, 7.

⁴⁸ Wallis and Hill (eds.), *Sixty Years on the Brazos*, 89.

⁴⁹ Kennedy, *Texas*, II, 393. For mention of lotteries, see Herndon, “Diary of Trip from Kentucky to Texas, 1837-1838,” 21; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, January 30, 1839; and A. S. Ruthven, *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Texas . . . 1837-1857*, 2 vols. (Galveston, 1857), I, 114. See Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas*, 34, for a description of a friendly poker game in which prominent merchants participated.

dred dollars.”⁵⁰ Probably as a result of the rousing of tempers following losses at wagering, the race tracks were occasionally the scene of quarrels and fights which had fatal results.⁵¹ But much of the highest betting was between gentlemen owners in match races. The following advertisement, inserted in a Clarksville newspaper by C. E. Hilburn, is typical of published challenges, and incidentally contrasts the two best tracks in the Red River region, at the small villages of Clarksville and Boston:

A Challenge

Hart and Co. are hereby informed that my horse *Woodpecker* can take their horse, *Albert Gallatin*, two mile heats, over the Boston track, on the 1st Monday in May next, for a negro boy worth six hundred and fifty dollars, and three hundred and fifty dollars in cash. The objection I have to the Clarksville track is, that it is too muddy in wet weather and too hard in dry.⁵²

Horse racing, a universal American sport in this period, was widespread in the Republic of Texas. Some of the very earliest American settlers in Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas built race tracks. As early as 1834 there were several in sparsely settled portions of East Texas.⁵³ In 1834 and 1835 the Texas village of Columbia had a track on which match races were run for purses as high as five hundred and a thousand dollars. Even though Columbia was captured and partially devastated by the invading Mexican army shortly before the battle of San Jacinto, the Texas Revolution did not end the sport in that town. The Columbia Jockey Club held racing meets in both of the seasons immediately preceding and following the invasion, as well as in later years. And in November of 1836, P. R. Splane of Columbia publicly offered to wager ten thousand dollars or less on one of his horses against any competition.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Roemer, *Texas*, 103.

⁵¹ *Austin City Gazette*, May 6, 1840; *Austin Daily Texian*, January 13, 1842; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 11, 1842; and *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, July 8, 1842.

⁵² *Clarksville Northern Standard*, November 6, 1844.

⁵³ Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, 123. Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas*, 125, mentions a race track on the Samuel Steadham farm, about nine miles from San Augustine, which may have been constructed as early as 1805. William Goyens, a free Negro, was engaged in horse racing in Nacogdoches in 1828. Nacogdoches Archives, XXV, 52.

⁵⁴ *Columbia Texas Republican*, October 25, 1834; May 2, June 6, September 19, 1835; *Columbia Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 25, November 2, 9, 12, 16, 19, 1836.

In the period of the Republic, most of the small Texas towns, including the few predominantly Spanish, had racecourses. Some were owned by individuals, some by clubs. They were located at Galveston, Houston, Velasco, Washington, Columbus, Columbia, Richmond, Crockett, Texana, Bastrop, San Augustine, Nacogdoches, Clarksville, Boston, Brazoria, San Antonio, and Goliad.⁵⁵ In 1838 a traveler from Natchez, Mississippi, wrote to the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* that he had been struck with "the spirit of the people for racing." He had seen side bets of \$2500 made by owners on one race late in 1837, and he believed that "Texas is going to be one of the greatest racing countries in the world, to be racing and betting the way they do now, and the Mexicans on their Western frontier."⁵⁶ In the following year a Louisiana visitor gave similar testimony: "The spirit of racing is already current there. Indeed this . . . amounts to almost a positive mania."⁵⁷

The chief racing centers were on the coast, at Velasco, Houston, and Galveston. The meetings of their jockey clubs received extended notices in 1838 in the *Spirit of the Times*, partly because their purses were high enough to publicize. Before the expiration of intensive speculation in Texas towns, and before the removal of the seat of government from Houston, these clubs offered purses which compared favorably with those of many clubs in the United States.

General Thomas Jefferson Green was a moving spirit among several prominent men who were officers of the New Market course at Velasco, then a promising town at the mouth of the Brazos River. General Green, soldier of fortune and one of the leaders of the luckless Texan expedition which attempted to take the Mexican town of Mier in 1842, had been the most successful operator on the Texas tracks. He was

⁵⁵ Complete documentation for this statement would be lengthy and is therefore omitted. Texas newspapers and manuscript records for the period contain scores of references to race tracks.

⁵⁶ *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* (Baltimore, 1829-1844), IX (1838), 51-52. The letter is dated January 12, 1838.

⁵⁷ *Spirit of the Times*, IX (1839), 282. The letter was written from St. Francisville, Louisiana, dated July 29, 1839, and signed "A Louisianan." It was probably written by C. C. S. Farrar.

president of the Velasco club in 1839, and the owner of a string of horses which he ran successfully in both Texas and the United States.⁵⁸ Other leading turfmen in Texas were Shelby Smith and David Random, of Galveston and Houston; John W. Hall of Washington; and Dr. William T. Hart of Clarksville.⁵⁹

Races held in the coastal towns had a concurrent social side in the balls arranged by the managers of the races. Though bachelor Dr. Ashbel Smith may have tinted the following account of the Houston fall races of 1838 with optimistic colors (since he confessed that his chief interest was in the beauty and chivalry attending the races), his version merits consideration:

As an evidence of the progress of civilization or as some regard it of its vices in this remote land, I may mention that we have a race course near the seat of Government: there and in different sections of the country. Our fall races came off last month. There was some very pretty running especially on the four mile day. I have sent you a newspaper containing an account of the races. There is a larger proportion of well bred geldings about Houston than I have seen in any other part of the world. The day of the races were concluded by a ball given by the Club. It was a large assembly of elegant ladies and high bred gentlemen; the festivities of the night were unmarred by any adverse incident.⁶⁰

Revelatory reports on the social accompaniments of the Velasco races of 1838 were made in letters written by Mrs. Mary Austin Holley, first cousin of Stephen F. Austin, to her daughter in the United States. Concerning her preparations to attend she wrote:

⁵⁸ For Green's racing activities in Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama, see *Spirit of the Times*, VIII (1838), 356, 364; IX (1839), 75; X (1840), 43, 55. Also, Green to Ashbel Smith, February 17, 1839, and Smith to H. P. Brewster, April 22, 1839, Ashbel Smith Papers. For his own account of the so-called Mier expedition, see T. J. Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition against Mier* (New York, 1845). For references to his military and business activities, see W. C. Binkley (ed.), *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution: 1835-1836*, 2 vols. (New York, 1936); and Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, *passim*.

⁵⁹ Among many references to Smith and Random, see, especially, *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 8, 1838; and *Spirit of the Times*, VIII (1839), 396; to John W. Hall, see Wallis and Hill (eds.), *Sixty Years on the Brazos*, 48, 161; to Hart, see *Clarksville Northern Standard*, October 21, 1843; May 1, 1844.

⁶⁰ Ashbel Smith to "My dear Will," December 20, 1838, letterbook in Ashbel Smith Papers. For correspondence on Velasco races of the spring of 1839, see B. T. Archer to Smith, February 19, 1839, *ibid.*; and Smith to T. J. Green, March 9, 1839, letterbook in *ibid.*

There is to be a great ball at Velasco tomorrow . . . night—being the period of the races. . . . We are going . . . in a small covered wagon (without spring seats) which I have persuaded them is a good thing to ride about here in. . . . in primitive style we shall go to Quintana—on this side of the river—& stop *with our bandboxes* at Mrs. McKenneys. Everything available for dresses in Texas has been bought up for the occasion. Confectionary & ornaments . . . are to be brought by the [steamship] Columbia from N[ew] Orleans. The gentlemen dress remarkably well—the clothes being all brought from N[ew] York ready made and of the newest fashions. I expect it will be a great occasion, one at least I have never seen. . . . property [in Quintana and Velasco] is increasing rapidly in value. This occasion is to draw people there to help it.⁶¹

Although Mrs. Holley's correspondence further shows that the Velasco balls were successful,⁶² the attempt of the gentlemen promoters of the races to arouse a speculative interest in their town lots failed. A continued pressure for money was leaving dozens of Texas town promotion ventures existent only in their backers' imaginations. And this in a country accurately characterized as "town mad"⁶³ even after the economic painfulness of the years following 1837 began to be felt.

Enthusiasm for racing persisted throughout the period of the Republic, one result being the continued importation of blooded stock. C. C. S. Farrar of St. Francisville, Louisiana, took four racing horses to Texas in the summer of 1839 and sold them for \$11,000.⁶⁴ A few months later, Dr. R. W. Withers, who had raced extensively in Alabama, sent ten blooded horses to Texas under the care of Isaac Van Leer, "the well known trainer."⁶⁵ In the spring of 1840, there were race horses "all the way from Long Island" training for the first meet of the newly organized San Augustine Jockey Club.⁶⁶ And several well-bred American stallions, including "the celebrated Leviathan," were

⁶¹ Mother [Mary Austin Holley] to William M. Brand [Mrs. Holley's son-in-law], February 21, 1838, Holley Papers. Mrs. Holley was the widow of Rev. Horace Holley, president of Transylvania University from June 25, 1818, to March 27, 1827.

⁶² Mrs. Holley to Mrs. William Brand, March 6, 1838, *ibid.*

⁶³ *Id.* to *id.*, December 30, 1837, *ibid.* See William R. Hogan, "Henry Austin," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (1934), 211-12, for a brief discussion of this point.

⁶⁴ *Spirit of the Times*, IX (1839), 282.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 450; X (1840), 138; XII (1842), 103; XII (1842), 183.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, X (1840), 18.

brought to Texas, while at least two stallions were imported after 1841 from England.⁶⁷ These importations did not mean that Texas racing stock was uniformly good, for the contrary was true; it merely presented further proof of interest in the sport of kings.

Private race tracks were laid off on the plantations along the coast and even on farms far in the interior. Conclusive evidence exists that, both on some of these tracks and on prairie straightaways, horse racing often occurred in the last outposts of settlement. Consider the experience of Rev. Z. N. Morrell when, in 1846, he reached the village of Springfield, which had only recently sprung up near the site of the Fort Parker massacre. He had been forced to swim several rivers to reach the place; he was undoubtedly on the edge of settlement in that region. Yet he found, to his sorrow, a fine race track "on which much labor had been expended."⁶⁸ A few months before, Roemer had seen one at Bucksnot, "the farthest settlement," he said, "on the Brazos River."⁶⁹ At Bucksnot he lodged with a farmer who told him of the troubles he had had to suffer on account of Indians, and offered him corn-meal mush and milk, "the simplest supper" he had eaten in Texas. Afterwards, Roemer's companion informed him that the settler had once been well-to-do, but that he had been ruined by making unfortunate bets on his expensive horses. "To hear people speak of racing on the extreme outposts of civilization, sounded peculiar to me, but on the following day I actually saw a race track which had been recently used. Later I had other occasions to observe, that the love for this national sport asserted

⁶⁷ San Augustine *Red-Lander*, March 12, 1846; Matagorda *Colorado Gazette and Advertiser*, January 9, 1841; Austin *Texas Times*, February 25, 1843; and *Spirit of the Times*, VIII (1838), 36; IX (1839), 18.

⁶⁸ Z. N. Morrell, *Flowers and Fruits in the Wilderness; or Forty-six years in Texas and Two Winters in Honduras* (Dallas, 1886), 241-53. Springfield was located on a site between modern Groesbeck and Mexia, but is no longer in existence.

⁶⁹ The modern town of Marlin is located approximately on the site of the Bucksnot settlement. Wallis and Hill (eds.), *Sixty Years on the Brazos*, 109. There have also been other Bucksnots in Texas. J. Frank Dobie (ed.), "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas*, in *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society* (Austin, 1916-), XIII (1937), 52; W. S. James, *Cowboy Life in Texas* (Chicago, 1893), 87.

itself in these places, far removed from civilization.”⁷⁰ Such is the testimony of a trained and accurate observer.

A less reliable reporter was Mrs. M. C. Houstoun, an English lady whose yacht touched at Galveston, starting point for her brief visit into the interior in 1844. She wrote, perhaps with unconscious humor, that the national amusement of the frontier republic was *whittling*, a sport which seemed to be carried to its point of highest dexterity in the halls of its Congress.⁷¹ Her estimation of the importance of whittling may not have been so far from the truth because yarn swapping and the playing of rough practical jokes on newly arrived “greenies”—in the concoction of which whittling and the chewing of tobacco were natural concomitants—were perhaps the greatest amusements of all.

“Fun and frolic were the ruling passions of the hour,” wrote a Texas doctor, “and woe to the one who came in green from the states, particularly if he were in the least presumptuous and loved good whiskey. The old stager would have an especial series of lessons for him to learn and some were so severe that they were never forgotten.” The lessons in the curricula of the schools of horseplay were not only severe but also occasionally served a social purpose. Dr. Peebles of the village of Washington aided “the boys” in getting rid of a loafer by dissolving nitrate of silver in the water for his bath (his first in many months), which they had persuaded him to take. After exposure to the sunlight, the loafer’s skin began to turn dark, and when a plunge in the river failed to deterge his dark coating and his friends were threatening to have him enslaved as a Negro, he departed in great haste.⁷²

Another very practical joke consisted in trading spurious headright certificates for worthless “wild cat” paper money brought in by visiting sharpers. It was customary to conclude the proceedings with the “Span-

⁷⁰ Roemer, *Texas*, 230-31. Other outlying villages had race tracks. For mention of the race track at Austin in 1840, see Brown, “Annals of Travis County,” VI, 26.

⁷¹ Mrs. [M. C.] Houstoun, *Texas and The Gulf of Mexico or Yachting in the New World*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), II, 171-72.

⁷² Wallis and Hill (eds.), *Sixty Years on the Brazos*, 14, 43.

ish Burying," which ended in the administration of a blistering "padding to the gentleman in search of landed estates."⁷³

Finally, an incident involving the second president of the Republic of Texas reflects, through a mild bit of buffoonery, the free-and-easy character of the country. The citizens of Austin "framed" President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, a dreamer by nature, who was especially absent-minded early in the morning—a condition doubtless aggravated by engrossment in the pressing affairs of the infant republic. As he walked from his log cabin "White House" to the crude capitol building in Austin one morning, groups of passersby bade him "good morning"; all of the inhabitants of the capital seemed determined to greet Lamar before he reached his office. Near the end of his walk, a final group of young state employees surrounded the chief executive and all yelled "good morning" in concert. The President thereupon came out of his self-absorption, removed his hat, and with a good-humored and profound bow to his tormentors, made this rejoinder: "Good morning, gentlemen; in the name of God, good morning to you all."⁷⁴

⁷³ "Memoirs of John S. Ford" (transcript), II, 200.

⁷⁴ Sinks, "Texas Reminiscences," VI, 4. Judge Joel Miner mentioned the disposition of Congress at this time "towards convivial sociability—a love for fun and jokes." Brown, "Annals of Travis County," VII, 44.

Lee the Farmer

By JOSEPH C. ROBERT

Robert E. Lee's peculiar sensitiveness to the beauties of nature, his marked affection for domestic animals, his love of the quiet, simple life, and his joy in everyday creative tasks combined to turn his thoughts all during his career, and especially during the trying times of the early 1860's, to the day when he could retire to a farm. He was searching for a suitable farm when, after Appomattox, Washington College invited him to become its president.

That Lee's enthusiasm for the agrarian life continued unabated during his last years is remarkable in the light of the trials to which he was subjected when he actually farmed. For over two years, from November, 1857, to February, 1860, he administered the estate left by his father-in-law, George Washington Parke Custis, giving virtually all of his time to the direction of agricultural operations at Arlington and to the general supervision of the two Pamunkey River farms, White House and Romancoke. While farming at Arlington, Lee's baffling responsibilities threw him into one of his infrequent fits of depression, the most marked decline in spirits which he ever experienced while with his family. That Lee was not permanently soured by his first real experience as a crop master, but eternally hoped for another trial, is testimony of the character that refused to be warped by hardship.

The two and a quarter years of farming had significance other than as a mere bridge between episodes in the life of the man. In administering the Custis estate, Lee entered the dominant vocation of the society soon to proclaim him its most heroic defender. This assumption of the farmer's rôle inevitably made him more appreciative of the problems which beset the Southern planter. Like others he experienced his share

of bad weather, poor crops, financial worries, unsatisfactory overseers, and unruly slaves. Though by the Custis will the three farms were eventually to go to Lee's children and the slaves were to be freed, Lee's anxiety to build up the estates and to gather abundant crops could have been no greater had the property been his in fee simple.

In his will, drawn March 26, 1855, Custis bequeathed all of his possessions, slaves excepted, to Robert E. Lee's family.¹ Lee's wife, Mary Ann Randolph Custis Lee, received a life interest in the Arlington estate; Lee himself, a lot in Washington, D. C. The three Lee sons were given the three farms: the youngest, Robert Edward Lee, Jr., was willed Romancoke; the middle son, William Henry Fitzhugh Lee, White House; and the eldest son, George Washington Custis Lee, was to assume proprietorship of Arlington upon the death of his mother. The four Lee daughters, Mary, Ann, Agnes, and Mildred, were each awarded \$10,000. The slaves apparently were to be freed in five years. Of the designated executors, Robert E. Lee, Robert Lee Randolph, Bishop William Meade, and George Washington Peter, only Lee qualified and upon him devolved the burden of administering an extensive and deteriorating estate under the terms of a poorly drawn will. The instrument was susceptible to contradictory interpretation on at least three scores: (1) the optional or compulsory nature of a clause indicating that George Washington Custis Lee was to change his name to that of his grandfather; (2) the method of raising the money for the four \$10,000 legacies; and (3) the determining factor in computing the maximum time the slaves were to remain in bondage.² Obviously the

¹ A copy of the G. W. P. Custis will is available in Karl Decker and Angus McSween, *Historic Arlington* (Washington, 1892), 80-81.

² As to changing Custis Lee's name the will read, "On the death of my daughter, Mary Ann Randolph Lee, all the property left to her during the term of her natural life I give and bequeath to my eldest grandson, George Washington Custis Lee, to him and his heirs forever, he, my said eldest grandson, taking my name and arms." Lee felt that this requirement might not be considered binding. See R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Lee Collection (MSS., Duke University Library, hereafter cited as Duke MSS.). Pertinent parts of this collection were transcribed and re-checked by Dr. G. A. Nuernberger of Duke University Library. Contradictory problems of the will are further discussed below. For a quotation from the eventual court interpretation of the will, see Robert E. Lee [Jr.], *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (2nd edition, New York, 1924), 236, hereafter cited as R. E. Lee, Jr., *Lee*.

document called for legal clarification and Lee almost immediately petitioned for a court order interpreting the various provisions.

The real estate listed lay in eight Virginia counties and the District of Columbia: "[1] my Arlington House estate, in the county of Alexandria and State of Virginia, containing eleven hundred acres, more or less, and my mill on Four Mile Run, in the county of Alexandria, and the lands of mine adjacent to said mill, in the counties of Alexandria and [2] Fairfax, in the State of Virginia"; "[3] my estate called the White House, in the county of New Kent and State of Virginia, containing four thousand acres, more or less"; "[4] my estate in the county of King William and State of Virginia, called Romancock, containing four thousand acres, more or less";³ "[5] My estate of Smith's Island, at the capes of Virginia, and in the county of Northampton"; "[6] Any and all lands that I may possess in the counties of Stafford, [7] Richmond, [8] and Westmoreland"; and "[9] my lot in square No. 21, Washington city."

The fact that Custis cited these properties in no wise guaranteed that the items accurately summarized his holdings. There was uncertainty as to the boundaries of the major pieces of property;⁴ Lee thought real estate other than that indicated in the will might be in Custis's name on the courthouse records;⁵ and there is reason to believe that Custis owned only part of the land which he grouped in the clause, "Any and all lands that I may possess in the counties of Stafford, Richmond, and Westmoreland." As a matter of fact, no Custis property can be found in the Stafford and Richmond County Land Tax Books though the other Virginia real estate mentioned in the will may be identified in the various county tax volumes. Twice in referring to minor acres in Stafford, Richmond, and Westmoreland counties Custis in his will employed the expression, lands which "I may possess." He did not use that less positive terminology when indicating other real estate. It is possible that the "may" was more than a mere conventional expression

³ Though Custis in his will employed the name "Romancock," the King William County farm was usually written "Romancoke."

⁴ For Arlington, see R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, May 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, San Antonio, Texas, November 24, 1860, *ibid.*

and indicated actual doubt in his own mind as to ownership, for certainly in two of the three counties he was not paying in his own name taxes on real estate.⁶ For taxes of January 1, 1857, the Custis land in Virginia was listed with the acreage and valuation as given in the accompanying table. During the period 1858-1861 Lee kept these listings virtually unchanged.⁷

VIRGINIA REAL ESTATE OF G. W. P. CUSTIS, JANUARY 1, 1857

<i>County</i>	<i>Description of Property</i>	<i>Number Acres</i>	<i>Value Including Buildings</i>
(1) Alexandria	(a) Arlington Proper	1,100	\$33,000.00
	(b) Custis Mill Division	500	6,000.00
(2) Fairfax	Adjacent to Custis Mill	179 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,688.75
(3) New Kent	White House	3,508	52,620.00
(4) King William	(a) Romancoke Proper	2,800	33,600.00
	(b) Marsh Land	1,200	600.00
(5) Northampton	Smiths Island	4,044	2,022.00
(8) Westmoreland	Stradford	22	110.00
Total		13,353 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$130,640.75

⁶ It should be noted that in Stafford County Land Tax Books, 1857-1861 (MSS., Virginia State Library, Richmond), a 135-acre farm, "White Oak," is listed in the name of "Mary Ann Lee."

⁷ County Land Tax Books (MSS., Virginia State Library). The "Description of Property," included in the table for the sake of clarity, follows expressions used in the tax sheets with these exceptions—the key numbers and letters referring to the respective items: (1) the words (a) "Proper" and (b) "Division" have been added; (2) the tax list describes this as "On old Leesburg[?] Road"; (4) in the tax list these divisions (a) and (b) are given on two lines, thus

Armpoint On Pamky
 " (marsh).

All the returns for 1857 are in the name of Custis himself. After 1857 the Alexandria entries are in the name of Mary Ann R. Lee, Robert E. Lee's wife; the Fairfax entries, "Lee Rob^t E & wife, Custis" with slight variations; New Kent, King William, Westmoreland, and Northampton entries, in the name of the Custis estate. In the Alexandria County Land Tax Books the descriptions for the years 1847-1850 indicate 1600 acres. From 1851 to 1856 the listing is 1500 acres. For 1857 the Custis entry totals 1600 acres, divided 1100 for "Arlington" and 500 for "Custis' Mill & mill track & mill." The 1858 entry gives only 1500 acres, divided 1100 for Arlington and 400 for Custis Mill. The 1859-1861 entries are for 1600 acres, 1100 being for Arlington and 500 for Custis Mill. The Alexandria County Land Tax Book, 1863, calls Custis Mill "Christie Mill." Six acres of Smith's Island in Northampton County were sold to the United States; therefore for 1859 and after, the acreage was put at 4038 and the valuation \$2019. This sale was specifically noted on the 1859 Northampton tax list. Alexandria County, now Arlington County, was returned to Virginia by the United States in 1846. See M. P. Robinson, *Virginia Counties* (Virginia State Library *Bulletin*, IX, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Richmond, 1916).

The estate was burdened with debts "upwards of \$10,000" for which Custis had made no provision,⁸ and, of course, with the \$40,000 in legacies for the four granddaughters. The legacies apparently were to be paid by selling all the Virginia property except that in Alexandria, Fairfax, New Kent, and King William, and by working the White House and Romancoke farms.⁹ Lee seemed to think that Arlington, including the few Fairfax acres, was as unencumbered by the debts as by the legacies.¹⁰ Relieving Arlington of these obligations would result in a liability of about \$50,000 on real estate valued at approximately \$90,000. From a commercial point of view the projected emancipation of the Custis labor still further embarrassed the administrator.

At Custis's death his slaves of all ages numbered 196 and were divided among the three farms, 63 at Arlington, 90 at White House, and 43 at Romancoke.¹¹ Of the total number, 130 were over twelve years of age and therefore taxable. The accompanying table, prepared from the County Property Tax Books, reveals that the total number of slaves

⁸ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS. See, also, *id.* to *id.*, Baltimore, January 17, 1858, *ibid.*

⁹ For the confusing directions in respect to the means for payment of the legacies, see Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York, 1934-1935), I, 380; R. E. Lee to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 22, 1857, Duke MSS. On May 26, 1866, Lee wrote his son Robert and quoted from the decision of the Court of Appeals concerning the liability of White House and Romancoke for the legacies: "If the legacies are not paid off by the personal property, hires of slaves, rents, and sale of the real estate, charged with their payment, at the end of five years, the portion unpaid remains a charge upon the White House and Romancoke until paid. The devisees take their estate *cum onere*." R. E. Lee, Jr., *Lee*, 236.

¹⁰ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

¹¹ Inventory of the Estate of G. W. P. Custis, January 1, 1858, Will Book No. 7, pp. 369-71, Alexandria County Records (MSS., Alexandria, Va.). For a complete transcription of the inventory I am indebted to Mr. T. Sutton Jett, Junior Historian, National Park Service. The inventory, which was not recorded until September 11, 1858, gives slaves, livestock, and farm equipment for the Pamunkey farms, but only slaves for Arlington. The ages of all slaves are given for White House, the ages of the adult males for Romancoke, but ages for none of the Arlington Negroes. The White House inventory classifies 65 as 12 years of age and over, while the tax returns for the same date indicate 70 in that classification. The White House Negroes varied in age from Daniel and Davy, who were 80 and 75 respectively, on down to Champ and James, the former 2 months, the latter 1 month. The 90 at White House were made up of 38 men (12 and over), 27 women (12 and over), and 25 children (under 12).

over twelve was remarkably consistent in the five years. Possibly some were transferred from one farm to another as labor needs dictated.¹²

SLAVES TWELVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BELONGING TO THE
CUSTIS ESTATE, 1857-1861

<i>Year</i>	<i>Alexandria County (Arlington)</i>	<i>New Kent County (White House)</i>	<i>King William County (Romancoke)</i>	<i>Total</i>
1857.....	42	69	19	130
1858.....	35	70	25	130
1859.....	35	70	24	129
1860.....	30	74	24	128
1861.....	30	78	23	131

The manumission paragraph in the Custis will was drawn as follows:

And upon the legacies to my four granddaughters being paid, and my estates that are required to pay the said legacies being clear of debt, then I give freedom to my slaves, the said slaves to be emancipated by my executors in such manner as to my executors may seem most expedient and proper, the said emancipation to be accomplished in not exceeding five years from the time of my decease.

There was real doubt in Lee's mind whether the five-year limit or the completion of the payment of the legacies was intended by Custis as the time determinant. In writing to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh on November 22, 1857, only a few days after he arrived at Arlington from Texas, Lee outlined the content of the Custis will, remarking as to the servants, "On payment of his debts & legacies, his slaves are to be emancipated in such manner as his Executors may determine."¹³ Lee wrote to his son

¹² As the tax returns were made as of January 1 each year, the 1857 entries are in the name of Custis himself. The subsequent entries for Arlington are in the name of "Lee Col' Adm^r G W P Custis" with slight changes in abbreviations. The 1858 and 1859 entries for White House and Romancoke are in the name of "Custus" or his estate, those for 1860 and 1861 in the name of William H. F. Lee, Robert E. Lee's second son. Incidentally, the 1862 New Kent tax lists carry in William H. F. Lee's name 117 slaves of all ages and both sexes valued at \$35,000, and the 1862 King William tax lists, 47 slaves of all ages and both sexes, valued at \$14,100. Seventy of the 117 in New Kent were classified as over 16 years of age as were 32 of the 47 in King William. Lee freed all of the Custis slaves under date of December 29, 1862, yet due to the slow travel of news William H. F. Lee was, as of January 1, 1863, charged on the King William tax book with 39 slaves of all ages and both sexes valued at \$19,500. It should be noted here that any interchange of slaves among the three farms is not indicated by a comparison of names in the inventory and in the deed of manumission, cited below. However, there might have been some transference during the years such as is suggested by the tax lists, and the deed of manumission for clarity might have given each slave his original location.

¹³ R. E. Lee to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 22, 1857, Duke MSS.

Custis February 15, 1858, "I can now see little prospect of fulfilling the provisions of your Gr^d father's will within the space of five years, which seems to be the time, within which he expected it to be accomplished & his people liberated."¹⁴ A month later Lee mailed to Custis a copy of the testament and asked, "After reading the will I wish you would give me your opinion as to its provisions, especially that clause respecting his slaves."¹⁵ It is a monument to Lee's moral meticulousness that, despite the critical nature of the times and his absorbing army tasks, he executed the deed of manumission on December 29, 1862, only a few weeks after the expiration of the five years.¹⁶

Even though the type of slavery with which he had been connected was distinctly patriarchal, Lee objected to the institution, willingly classifying it as "a moral & political evil in any Country." In his opinion slavery exercised a particularly pernicious influence on the whites; the blacks were better off in America than in Africa. Accustomed to principles of authority and obedience in his army life, Lee did not view their bondage with sentimentality. Giving a full accounting for his own responsibilities, he naturally expected a somewhat similar measure from others. He felt that slavery was a discipline which, when Providence so decreed, would be followed by better things for the Negro. Certainly,

¹⁴ *Id.* to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, February 15, 1858, *ibid.*

¹⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, Arlington, March 17, 1858, *ibid.*

¹⁶ On December 29, 1862, Lee, as executor of the Custis will, executed a deed of emancipation freeing by name of individual, or by name of parent, 197 slaves attached to the farms as follows: Arlington 59, White House 87, and Romancoke 51. The original deed with Lee's autograph is now (1936) framed and hanging in the Confederate Museum in Richmond. According to its endorsement it was recorded in the City of Richmond Hustings Court Deed Book 79B, p. 42, at noon January 2, 1863. The deed was prepared from a list furnished by Mrs. Lee to which Lee added as many names as he could recall. He was concerned about the Negroes whom he had not remembered and desired to manumit even those who had fled with the enemy, to protect them if later they returned. Lee was genuinely disturbed by the thought of the dangers independence held for the young and irresponsible. In writing to Custis Lee concerning the possibility of getting the newly freed slaves good positions, Lee added with obvious feeling: "But what can be done with poor little Jim? It would be cruel to turn him out on the world. He could not take care of himself." J. William Jones, *Life and Letters of Robert Edward Lee, Soldier and Man* (Washington, 1906), 285-87. For a postwar letter written by Lee to one of the former Arlington slaves, see *ibid.*, 404-405.

thought Lee, general emancipation could not be hastened by violent agitation.¹⁷

Lee's experience as a slave master began years before he undertook the management of the Custis Negroes. Listed in the Alexandria County Property Tax Book for 1847 are four slaves over sixteen years of age belonging to "Col. Lee."¹⁸ Apparently these four were embraced in the manumission clause in Lee's will, dated August 31, 1846: "*Nancy* & her children at the *White House* New Kent all of whom I wish liberated, so soon as it can be done to their advantage & that of others."¹⁹ Nothing further in the tax lists has been discovered referring to these slaves.²⁰ In Lee's correspondence Dr. Douglas S. Freeman finds them mentioned not at all.²¹ Neither their acquisition nor their disposition has been positively traced. Judge Robert W. Winston in his *Robert E. Lee: A Biography*²² suggests that they were acquired from the Carter

¹⁷ R. E. Lee to Mrs. Lee, Fort Brown, Texas, December 27, 1856, quoted in Freeman, *Lee*, I, 371-73.

¹⁸ Except for the omission of the blank columns for attorney, physician, dentist, (toll) bridge, ferry, and newspaper taxes, the complete entry follows:

Lee, Col	
White males over 16 years of age.....	1
Slaves over 16 years of age.....	4
Slaves over 12 years of age.....	
Free Blacks.....	
Horses Mules, &c.....	
4 wheel plea. carriages & harness and value.....	175
Stages and value including harness.....	
Carryalls and harness and value.....	
2 wheel plea. carriages & harness and value.....	
Gold watches.....	2
Patent lever or lepine silver watches.....	1
Other watches.....	
Metallic clocks.....	1
Other clocks.....	
Pianos and value.....	200
Plate over the value of \$50.....	100
Amt. of Int ^t or profits on money loaned.....	
Amt. of monied yearly income over \$400.....	600
Total Amt ^t of Tax.....	20 15½

¹⁹ Will Book, No. 19, pp. 361-62, Rockbridge County Records (MSS., Lexington, Va.).

²⁰ The Alexandria County Property Tax Books previous to 1847 are not available as that area was not re-ceded to the State of Virginia until 1846. See n. 7, above. In the tax lists for that county after 1847, Lee's name does not appear for assessment of his own property. A search of the New Kent County Property Tax Books for the 1840-1861 period failed to disclose slaves or other property listed as belonging to Lee.

²¹ Freeman, *Lee*, I, 371, n. 38.

²² (New York, 1934), 28, 38.

estate, which Lee's mother held in life tenure. If Dr. John Leyburn's 1885 account of his 1869 interview with Lee is to be accepted literally, Lee freed most of his Negroes before the war and sent to Liberia those who desired to go.²³ After 1847 the members of Nancy's family still in servitude may have been considered for purposes of taxation as part of the Custis slaveholdings, perhaps at the White House. This theory, however, does not square with Lee's usually very exact arrangement of financial matters.²⁴

Lee had always displayed a lively interest in agricultural affairs, remarking that eventually he wanted the quietness of rural life.²⁵ Now, in 1857, as administrator of his father-in-law's estate it seemed as if he might indulge this fondness, but, realist that he was, Lee entered upon his duties blinded by no false hopes and undoubtedly anticipating the major trials he was to undergo.²⁶ One of the inherent difficulties connected with the supervision of the Custis property was the scattered character of the major farming units, Arlington, White House, and Romancoke. The last two farms, on opposite sides of the Pamunkey River and less than a score of miles apart, were approximately a hundred miles from Arlington. White House employed more slaves and yielded more valuable crops than did either Arlington or Romancoke.²⁷ The two Pamunkey farms had been closely connected in administration; the overseer at Romancoke was considered subordinate to the manager at White House.²⁸ Finding the Pamunkey farms gravely neglected, in part due to the shortcomings of a former manager, Lee immediately undertook soil improvement and the construction and repair of essential

²³ Freeman, *Lee*, I, 371, n. 40; IV, 399-401.

²⁴ See R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, August 18, 1863, quoted in Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 288-89.

²⁵ R. E. Lee, Jr., *Lee*, 20-21.

²⁶ For Lee's comments on the problems of the Pamunkey farms before Mr. Custis's death, see, for example, his letters to Mrs. Lee, Fort Brown, Texas, January 17, 24, 1857, Duke MSS.

²⁷ See the tables above, "Virginia Real Estate of G. W. P. Custis, January 1, 1857" and "Slaves Twelve Years of Age and Over Belonging to the Custis Estate, 1857-1861"; and the table below, "Five Virginia Agricultural Schedules, Census of 1850 and 1860."

²⁸ R. E. Lee, Jr., *Lee*, 406.

buildings.²⁹ Although he freely gave the necessary time and thought to affairs on the Pamunkey, his major interest and affection was centered on Arlington farm, adorned by the heavy-pillared mansion house. There he had wooed and wed, there his children had been born, there he and his family now lived. Lee's genuine love for the hill colored such expressions as that used in admonishing his son Custis to save his money "that you may have the means to build up old Arlington & make it all we would wish to see it."³⁰

Mr. Custis obviously had intended that Arlington, sheltering the Washington relics, should be known as a handsome family seat, but his essentially dilatory nature gradually checked his ambition for farm improvement. In his younger days he had earned a reputation as an advanced agriculturist, principally through his stock-breeding. Though at one time he advertised for sale a breed of sheep, the Arlington Improved, in his declining years he kept at Arlington not a single lamb.³¹ The run-down condition of the whole establishment at his death was a testimonial to the good-natured carelessness and improvidence of its master. When Lee arrived from Texas his sad report was, "Everything is in ruins & will have to be rebuilt." Both mansion house and stable leaked. The overseer's dwelling was so dilapidated that, in Lee's words, "it deters respectable men with families from engaging." The mill needed about \$800 worth of repairs and the miller claimed nearly \$1000 in back wages.³²

Lee immediately entered upon the late autumn farm work. His trials for the first few weeks were mainly in "endeavoring to urge unwilling hands to work & make some preparation for the winter."³³ Soon his more careful husbandry bore fruit in improved buildings, livestock, and

²⁹ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, February 15, 1858; *id.* to Mrs. Lee, Fort Brown, Texas, January 24, 1857, Duke MSS.

³⁰ *Id.* to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, *ibid.*

³¹ L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 848, 963; the table below, "Five Virginia Agricultural Schedules, Census of 1850 and 1860." There were sheep on other Custis land.

³² R. E. Lee to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 22, 1857; *id.* to G. W. C. Lee, Baltimore, January 17, 1858; *id.* to *id.*, Arlington, May 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

³³ *Id.* to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 22, 1857, *ibid.*

fields.⁸⁴ Realizing that close personal supervision of the mill would be essential for its profitable operation, and knowing that such would be impossible along with his other duties, Lee repaired and rented that property.⁸⁵ The consciousness of the run-down condition of the farms and the uncertain duration of his stay prodded him into a rapid tempo.⁸⁶ He refused, however, to sacrifice caution for speed, and as time went on, grew even less tolerant of those seeking to reap unwarranted profit from transactions with the estate. Witness his advice to Custis when this son was later troubled in the management of the mill on Four Mile Run: "You must be aware of one thing, that those you deal with will consider their advantage & not yours. So while being fair & just you must not neglect your interests."⁸⁷

Lee estimated that the carrying out of his own modest ideas of improvement at Arlington would require the expenditure of about \$10,000, a sum which was not at hand and which he was decidedly averse to borrowing.⁸⁸ He wrote to Curtis Lee on February 15, 1858:

As to myself & future plans, I shall defer my determination until the Fall, as it will not be necessary to determine till then. In the meantime you must think over the matter & decide what you would prefer doing. If you wished to resign & take this place, & Rooney to get married & settle down at the White House, there would be no necessity for my leaving the army. In a pecuniary point of view I would not advise your resignation, & it must therefore depend upon your feelings & predilections. It would require about \$10,000 to put this place in order. To make that of the land with hired labour would require labour economy & devotion to the object. It might however be done by selling part of the land. If you could pick up in California some bags of gold, or marry some nice young woman with enough for both, you might then resign if you felt disposed,

⁸⁴ R. E. Lee, Jr., *Lee*, 20.

⁸⁵ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Baltimore, January 17, 1858, Duke MSS. The Custis gristmill as an industrial institution was entered in the Census of 1850, Industry, Alexandria County, Original Returns (MSS., Virginia State Library). According to that entry the Custis mill represented an investment of \$5000, was powered by water, employed two male hands who together cost \$35 per month, and for the year ending June 1, 1850, ground 10,000 bushels of corn valued at \$5000, producing meal valued at \$6250.

⁸⁶ See, especially, R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Fort Brown, Texas, April 16, 1860, Duke MSS.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, Arlington, February 15, 1858; *id.* to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 20, December 13, 1858, *ibid.*

& live the life of a country gentleman. Without that you would progress slowly. I am thinking aloud for your benefit, as I wish you to view the subject in all its bearings.³⁹

Lee's reference to the possibility of his own resignation indicates the seriousness with which he wrestled with the problem of administering the Custis estate. The suggestion of a land sale from the Arlington properties indicates that Lee was a practical man willing to discard the remnants of the Virginia fetish which demanded that inherited acres, especially on the basic estate, be maintained intact. The recognition that hired labor would have to be used before the estate could be completely ordered shows that Lee considered the five years before emancipation too brief a period for a complete refurbishing of Arlington, and certainly announces his belief that, once the slave had been purchased or inherited, slave labor would be less expensive than free. The hint at matrimony illustrates the family aptness for contracting advantageous marital alliances.

By January 1, 1858, Arlington comprised the following taxable property, according to returns filed under the name of "Lee Col' Adm'r G W P Custis": one free male over sixteen years of age; thirty-five slaves over sixteen (the same number over twelve); six horses, mules, asses, valued at \$300; thirty-two cattle, sheep, hogs, valued at \$300; a pleasure carriage, valued at \$350; a watch, valued at \$30; a clock, valued at \$30; a piano or harp, valued at \$100; gold and silver plate, and jewelry, valued at \$700; and household and kitchen furniture, valued at \$300. The total valuation of property, other than slaves, amounted to \$2110.⁴⁰

³⁹ *Id.* to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, February 15, 1858, *ibid.* As is remarked in Freeman, *Lee*, I, 382, n. 14, the copy there is taken from the mutilated version in Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 89. Of the above extract from the letter Jones omits the last six sentences.

⁴⁰ Alexandria County Property Tax Books, 1858 (MSS., Virginia State Library). Except for variation in the number of tithables and slaves, and a slight change in headings, this list is identical with that entered by Custis in 1857 and those submitted in Lee's name 1859-1861. The livestock entries in the Alexandria County Property Tax Books differ slightly from the returns made in 1860 for the Federal census of that year. The slaves at Arlington 12 years of age and over during the years from 1847, the date of the first tax reports after Alexandria County had been restored to Virginia, to 1861, fluctuated as follows: 1847-1852, 39; 1853-1854, 49; 1855-1857, 42; 1858-1859, 35; 1860-1861, 30.

The thirty-five taxable Negroes, representing that portion of the sixty-three at Arlington who had attained the age of twelve, were more than Lee could profitably use in farming operations; therefore he planned to introduce the practice of "hiring out" to which Mr. Custis apparently had never subscribed. The hiring of country slaves to nonslaveholding townsmen or to mining and railroad companies was widespread in the late ante-bellum period. To the slaveowner it yielded profit from surplus Negroes, yet avoided the auction block; to the employer it furnished labor under the slave system, yet required no large outlay of capital; to the slave it sometimes allowed a welcome change from country to town life with its more lively associations. Slaves from laxly-run farms naturally objected to a transition from semi-indolence to comparative activity. Lee felt that as a conscientious administrator and careful husbandman he must make wise use of the land and, while subject to him, the labor. Accordingly, he chose eleven of the Arlington blacks and made arrangements for their hire during the year 1858. Of these eleven, three returned to Arlington the first day, complaining that their new tasks were too difficult. Lee remarked in a letter to Custis that among the three was "*Reuben*, a great rogue & rascal whom I must get rid of some way."⁴¹

Becoming convinced of the wisdom and economy of this disposition of the servants, Lee sent larger numbers from Arlington and perhaps some from the other farms. However, as he remarked in connection with the 1860 hiring of Arlington Negroes in Richmond and South-side Virginia, the expense of conveyance, clothing, and other items "reduces their profit to the Estate very much."⁴² At least one advantage of the system was that it temporarily rid the estate of the complainers and troublemakers. When encouraging Custis to hire out as many as possible for the year 1861, Lee suggested, "I should think that Harry,

⁴¹ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Baltimore, January 17, 1858, Duke MSS. Incidentally this same Reuben lost his life after he had been granted freedom. Lee requested Custis to investigate, remarking, "He was of such a turbulent disposition that I have feared he may have caused it." *Id.* to *id.*, Headquarters Army Northern Virginia, March 31, 1863, quoted in Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 286-87.

⁴² *Id.* to *id.*, San Antonio, Texas, December 5, 1860, Duke MSS.

Amanda & Sarah, might at all events be put to service, to their benefit & mine, & much to your Mothers relief. Consult her about it."⁴³ By the middle of 1859 the old men and boys were doing all the labor at Arlington; Lee, strong for economy, had hired out all prime field hands.⁴⁴

A lax master had been suddenly replaced by one less yielding. In 1859 two servants, George Wesly and Mary Norris, broke for Pennsylvania, the promised land so tantalizingly near. The slaves were captured in Maryland *en route* to Pennsylvania and returned to Lee, who hired them out, with others, in South Virginia where the border would appear less tempting. The New York *Tribune* published anonymous letters to the effect that Lee was keeping the Arlington slaves in violation of the Custis will, that he was guilty of general mistreatment, and that he had inflicted brutal punishment on the returned runaways. According to the *Tribune's* informants Lee, in taking vengeance on the woman, stripped and lashed her with his own hands.⁴⁵ It is needless to remark that while Lee on occasion was a firm disciplinarian he was never brutal. To his son Custis he wrote: "The *N. Y. Tribune* has attacked me for my treatment of your grandfather's slaves, but I shall not reply. He has left me an unpleasant legacy."⁴⁶

The livestock listed with the taxable property for 1858 and subsequent years roughly tallies with the report for 1860 given in the table below, "Five Virginia Agricultural Schedules, Census of 1850 and 1860." Almost immediately after assuming control of Arlington, Lee gave special care to the draught animals. He spent, before the first spring, \$831 "in strengthening the teams."⁴⁷ In addition to continuing the use of farm horses and oxen there is reason to think that he introduced at Arlington the use of that tough hybrid, the mule. Certainly Mr. Custis listed no mules for the Census of 1850; by 1860 there were two pairs on the farm.⁴⁸ Before the first ploughing season Lee bought

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, Arlington, July 2, 1859, quoted in Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 102.

⁴⁵ Freeman, *Lee*, I, 390-92.

⁴⁶ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, July 2, 1859, quoted in Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 102.

⁴⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

⁴⁸ See the table below, "Five Virginia Agricultural Schedules, Census of 1850 and

about \$200 worth of farming implements.⁴⁹ This purchase accounts in part for the fact that the value of such equipment at Arlington increased from \$50 to \$400 in the 1850-1860 period. Not even by 1860, however, had Lee seen a sample of the new "cast iron steel ploughs" so helpful in turning viscid soil.⁵⁰

As Lee obtained funds from his own income and from the sale of farm products he continued to reconstruct and repair the Arlington buildings. At the end of a year's stewardship he had completed the mill and the overseer's house, covered the mansion house and stable, and laid the masonry for the barn, the superstructure of which was to be erected during the winter of 1858-1859.⁵¹ These improvements effected, Lee felt that he should increase the building valuations in the tax returns for the Arlington estate. For valuations as of January 1, 1858, he had retained in the Alexandria County Tax Books the earlier declarations of Mr. Custis: \$8000 for the buildings at Arlington proper and \$1000 for the mill. For January 1, 1859, he made a declaration of \$9100 for Arlington mansion house and dependent buildings and \$2000 for the mill, thus reflecting an increase of \$2100 in the total value of all the Arlington buildings in one year.⁵² This construction and repair was, of course, carried on in addition to the usual farm operations. Lee consistently attempted soil improvement through the use of both lime and guano. Before his first planting season at Arlington he spent about \$500 on these fertilizers.⁵³ In February, 1858, Lee remarked that the land at White House had been made more fertile through the use of marl and lime but that the soil of Romancoke had been "sadly neglected." Accordingly, for the latter farm he ordered from Baltimore a cargo of shell lime.⁵⁴

1860." At Mr. Custis's death, however, there were 28 mules at White House and 10 at Romancoke. Will Book No. 7, pp. 369-71, Alexandria County Records.

⁴⁹ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

⁵⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, San Antonio, Texas, November 24, 1860, *ibid.* As noted above, a detailed list of the farm equipment at White House and Romancoke is given in the inventory filed after Mr. Custis's death.

⁵¹ *Id.* to Mrs. Anna M. Fitzhugh, Arlington, November 20, 1858, *ibid.*

⁵² Alexandria County Land Tax Books, 1857-1861 (MSS., Virginia State Library).

⁵³ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

⁵⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, Arlington, February 15, 1858, *ibid.* For other references to use of calcareous

The Arlington acres lay in a section which, according to Dr. Lewis C. Gray, was at that time "one of the most important general farming regions in the South."⁵⁵ Arlington was a farm, not a plantation. Diversification was typical; the characteristic Southern staples, cotton, rice, and tobacco, were unprofitable in the North Virginia counties. A summary of the crops gathered by Lee at Arlington in the 1859 harvest season may be obtained from the original manuscript returns for the Census of 1860. As the report includes the twelve months ending June 1, 1860, it is, as far as the major produce is concerned, a compilation of the fruits of Lee's last calendar year at Arlington. Since parts of the ante-bellum census reports prove inadequate when measured by current standards, the value of this information is perhaps more descriptive than statistical. The 1860 reports for Arlington, White House, and Romancoke, with similar ones for Arlington and White House prepared in 1850, are given in the accompanying table, "Five Virginia Agricultural Schedules, Census of 1850 and 1860."⁵⁶ Obviously, the 1860 Arlington schedule includes only Arlington proper while that for 1850 embraces the mill section on Four Mile Run. The 500-acre mill tract, though less fertile than the rest, must have made appreciable contributions to the 1850 totals.⁵⁷ However, it seems safe to conclude from comparing the schedules that by 1860 new land had been opened at Arlington. Less attention was given to cattle grazing—due perhaps to the separate administration of the mill property with its adjacent grass land—and more emphasis put on wheat and garden truck, the latter to be sold in nearby Washington.⁵⁸ Though some of the changes may

manures, see *id.* to *id.*, San Antonio, Texas, March 13, 1860; Fort Brown, Texas, April 6, 1860; San Antonio, Texas, November 24, 1860, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, II, 918-19.

⁵⁶ Prepared from the original returns (MSS., Virginia State Library). The dollar marks, not given in the original, are inserted for the sake of clarity. Items (45) and (46) are given as (47) and (48) in the 1860 schedule.

⁵⁷ Exclusive of the buildings the 1100 acres around Arlington were valued at \$22.72 per acre and the 500 acres at the mill, \$10.00. This lower valuation for the mill property possibly reflects a less desirable location, certainly less fertility. Alexandria County Land Tax Books, 1859-1863.

⁵⁸ In connection with the agricultural program at Arlington it should be noted that part of the former Custis property is now used by the department of agriculture for experi-

have been initiated by Mr. Custis, it is clear that Lee brought about the major developments.

FIVE VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL SCHEDULES, CENSUS OF 1850 AND 1860

	Alexandria County (Arlington)		New Kent County (White House)		King Wm. County (Romanceke)
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1860
(1) Name of Owner, Agent, or Manager of the Farm . . .	G.W.P.Custis	R.E.Lee	Geo:W P Custis	W.H.F.Lee	Wm H T Lee [sic]
Acres of Land					
(2) Improved	100	300	1,500	1,800	1,000
(3) Unimproved	1,500	800	2,000	1,700	1,800
(4) Cash value of Farm	\$50,000	\$35,000	\$40,000	\$70,000	\$35,000
(5) Value of Farming Imple- ments and Machinery . . .	\$50	\$400	\$720	\$1,600	\$300
Live Stock, June 1					
(6) Horses	6	4	11	5	1
(7) Asses and Mules	—	4	25	25	10
(8) Milch Cows	15	8	20	20	8
(9) Working Oxen	2	2	25	26	12
(10) Other Cattle	20	9	46	12	16
(11) Sheep	—	—	147	75	48
(12) Swine	20	11	115	200	60
(13) Value of Live Stock	\$1,200	\$1,000	\$5,885	\$3,453	\$1,200
Produce During the Year Ending June 1					
(14) Wheat, bushels of	—	125	4,000	4,000	—
(15) Rye, bushels of	200	150	—	—	200
(16) Indian Corn, bushels of . .	900	750	7,500	6,000	2,500
(17) Oats, bushels of	150	150	—	—	—
(18) Rice, lbs. of	—	—	—	—	—
(19) Tobacco, lbs. of	—	—	—	—	—
(20) Ginned Cotton, bales of 400 lbs. each	—	—	—	—	—
(21) Wool, lbs. of	—	—	10	200	200
(22) Peas and Beans, bushels of	20	—	30	100	—
(23) Irish Potatoes, bushels of	50	40	10	20	—
(24) Sweet Potatoes, bushels of	—	—	20	20	—
(25) Barley, bushels of	—	—	—	—	—
(26) Buckwheat, bush. of	—	—	—	—	—
(27) Value of Orchard Products, in doll's	20	—	—	—	—
(28) Wine, gallons of	—	—	—	—	—
(29) Value of Produce of Market Gardens	—	\$200	—	—	—
(30) Butter, lbs. of	100	—	52	700	200
(31) Cheese, lbs. of	—	—	—	—	—
(32) Hay, tons of	30	3	—	10	8
(35) Hops, lbs. of	—	—	—	4	—
(45) Value of Home-made Man- ufactures	—	—	\$25	\$60	—
(46) Value of Animals Slaugh- tered	\$100	\$50	\$170	\$460	\$250

In summary, the principal innovations at Arlington in slightly more than two years, November, 1857, to February, 1860, the period in which Lee was immediately responsible for the conduct of affairs, were as follows: (1) As Arlington was "labor poor," Lee reduced the surplus by hiring out some of the slaves for annual wages. (2) He repaired and rebuilt structures on both the home place and mill property; the latter, rented to a professional miller, was administered separately from Ar-

mental purposes under the name, Arlington Experiment Farm. See Edwina Austin Avery, "Arlington Experiment Farm," *The Commonwealth*, September, 1935, pp. 12-15.

lington. (3) He purchased many new tools and implements for improved agricultural practice. (4) Apparently, he opened new land for cultivation and certainly made great efforts to fertilize the old. (5) His agricultural program seemingly meant a reduction in livestock with a corresponding decline in meat and dairy products, and a new emphasis on the cultivation of wheat and market vegetables.

Lee effected these changes while nursing his ailing wife, giving indirect supervision to the two Pamunkey River estates, and performing sundry duties assigned him by his Washington office. The most notable of these military commissions was, of course, the capturing of John Brown at Harpers Ferry.⁵⁹ Each embarrassing application for an extension of leave from his Texas regiment left Lee sorely troubled. As the months dragged on he felt a certain restlessness and was subject to long periods of depression.⁶⁰ Though he disliked the prospect of renewed separation from his family, a burden was removed from his conscience when he was able to surrender the supervision of Arlington to Custis Lee and the management of the Pamunkey farms to his second son, William Henry Fitzhugh Lee, known to all as "Rooney." Custis Lee, who had generously tried to give his inheritance to his father,⁶¹ was transferred from his army post to Washington. Thus he was able to live with the family at Arlington, on which he had eventual claim. Rooney Lee resigned from the army, married and moved to White House, taking charge of that farm, willed to him by Mr. Custis, and also of Romancoke, bequeathed to Robert E. Lee, Jr., still of school age. His duties conscientiously and capably discharged, Lee left for Texas on February 10, 1860.⁶²

⁵⁹ The best survey of Lee's movements from November, 1857, to February, 1860, is Freeman, *Lee*, I, Chaps. XII-XIII. The writer is indebted to this scholarly account for an introduction to many phases of Lee's life in the late 1850's.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 382, 389; IV, 501.

⁶¹ R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, March 17, 1858, Duke MSS.

⁶² Freeman, *Lee*, I, 404; Jones, *Life and Letters of Lee*, 97-99, 108-109; R. E. Lee to G. W. C. Lee, Arlington, May 30, 1859, Duke MSS. From February, 1860, until his return to Virginia a year later, Lee kept up an active correspondence with Custis and Rooney in regard to the management of the farms and administration of the estate. See, for example, *id.* to *id.*, San Antonio, Texas, February 28, March 13, 1860; Fort Brown,

The years 1858 and 1859, a time of sharply increasing tension between the sections, were for Lee the climax to his schooling as a Virginian, a schooling which made inevitable his decision of 1861. Surrounded by Virginia friends and kinsmen, he partook of their characteristic point of view. Embarrassed by the difficulties inherent in the slave system, he felt the sting of the antislavery press and saw at Harpers Ferry the fruits of fanatical abolitionism. Sowing and reaping as did thousands of other Virginians, Lee discovered that his sympathy for the Southern agriculturist was bolstered by kindred experience. In the time of crisis for Virginia he found that he could not lift his hand against her. In the words of his most brilliant biographer, "Having ploughed her fields, he had a new sense of oneness with her."⁶³

Three years after he planted his first crops at Arlington, Robert E. Lee resigned its acres to the Federal armies and turned his face toward Richmond.

Texas, April 16, 1860; San Antonio, Texas, November 24, December 5, 1860; Fort Mason, Texas, January 30, 1861, *ibid.*

⁶³ Freeman, *Lee*, I, 404.

Vicissitudes of Early Reconstruction Farming in the Lower Mississippi Valley

By B. I. WILEY

It would seem apropos to begin this paper with a definition of terms. "Early reconstruction" as used in this study refers generally to the period from 1862 to the close of the War in 1865. A few references are made, for purposes of illustration, to material dealing with a later period. The term "Lower Mississippi Valley" is restricted mainly to Federal-controlled portions of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee lying along the Mississippi River.

Reconstruction farmers fall into two principal categories: first, the native Southerners, commonly alluded to as "old planters," who continued to reside on their farms after Federal occupation; second, Northerners who came to the South after Federal occupation and devoted themselves to the cultivation of lands acquired from the natives or from the Federal government. These nonnative planters, in view of the fact that most of them held their farms through leases, were called lessees.

Some of the Northerners who came South in the wake of the Federal army to assume the rôle of farmers were doubtlessly respectable men. A few of the better sort were actuated by philanthropic and humanitarian motives; some of these wanted to ameliorate the condition of the recently liberated blacks about whose sufferings they had been informed in tear-provoking terms by missionary members of Northern benevolent societies; others wanted to refute, by actual demonstration, the argument of the Southern planters that Negroes would not work satisfactorily as freedmen. Generally speaking, however, the Northern lessees were an unsavory lot. Their chief motif was the desire to acquire "quick

and easy" fortunes. Many of them were unscrupulous adventurers gambling at great risk for high stakes, having little regard for either the freedmen whom they employed or for the government whose protection they vociferously demanded. Concerning the Northern interlopers, James Yeatman, president of the Western Sanitary Commission, who made an inspection of conditions pertaining to freedmen along the Mississippi late in 1863, said:

The parties leasing plantations and leasing these Negroes, do it from no motives either of loyalty or humanity. The desire of gain alone prompts them; and they care little whether they make it out of the blood of those they employ or from the soil. There are of course exceptions, but I am informed that the majority of the lessees were only adventurers, camp-followers, "army sharks," as they are termed.¹

Thomas W. Knox, a New York newspaper correspondent who rented a Louisiana plantation in 1864, but who seems to deserve a ranking in integrity considerably higher than that of the average type, said of lessees of 1863:

The majority . . . were unprincipled men, who undertook the enterprise solely as a speculation. They had as little regard for the rights of the negro as the most brutal slaveholder had ever shown. Very few of them paid the negroes for their labor, except in furnishing them small quantities of goods, for which they charged five times the value. . . . Some of the lessees made open boast of having swindled their negroes out of their summer's wages, by taking advantage of their ignorance.²

The superintendent of freedmen for the Natchez district was particularly vehement in his denunciation of the lessees, "the object of whose highest thought," he said, "is a greenback, whose God is a cotton bale, and whose devil is a guerrilla."³

Farmers of the early Reconstruction period in the Lower Mississippi Valley, whether original owners or lessees, were subject to numerous regulations imposed by the Federal government concerning the employ-

¹ James E. Yeatman, *Report on the Condition of the Freedmen of the Mississippi Presented to the Western Sanitary Commission*, Dec. 17, 1863 (St. Louis, 1863), 7.

² Thomas W. Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field* (New York, 1865), 316.

³ Joseph Warren (comp.), *Extracts from the Reports of Superintendents of Freedmen Compiled from Records in the Office of Colonel John Eaton, Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas* (Vicksburg, 1864), 17.

ment and treatment of freedmen. While these regulations varied slightly in different areas and at different times, the following were generally applicable to the region: (1) Planters expecting assistance from the military authorities in protecting their plantations and maintaining control over their laborers were required to take an oath of loyalty to the Federal government. (2) Employers of freedmen were required to make contracts with their laborers, setting forth the conditions of employment; to be valid, these contracts had to have the approval of government authorities. (3) Freedmen were to receive as compensation for their labor, in addition to suitable rations, clothing, living quarters, and medical attendance, wages ranging from three dollars to ten dollars a month, depending generally on their ages and ability to work. (4) Provision was to be made for the care of sick and disabled freedmen on the plantations to which they belonged, with specified exceptions. (5) Schools for freedmen were to be maintained at the expense of the planters. (6) Flogging and all other forms of corporal punishment were interdicted. (7) The length of the working day was fixed at nine or ten hours. (8) Pay was to be deducted in case of the laborer's sickness; if illness were feigned, both pay and rations were to be withheld. (9) Wages might be commuted for a specified share of the proceeds of the crop by consent of both employers and laborers. (10) Laborers had the free choice of employers, but once having chosen an employer they were required to remain with him for the entire period of the contract—usually one year. (11) Freedmen who were guilty of insolence or disobedience were subject to punishment by the military authorities. (12) Each laborer was to be allowed a small plot of ground for cultivation on his own account. (13) Overseers who insisted on mistreating Negroes were subject to punishment by military authorities. (14) Provost marshals were to settle all disputes between employers and laborers and to see that the terms of the contracts were respected by both parties.⁴

⁴ Most of these items are taken from General Order No. 23, issued by General Nathaniel P. Banks in February, 1864, for the Department of the Gulf. These regulations differed little from those issued by Banks for 1863 and for 1865. Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas in March, 1864, borrowed the regulations set forth by Banks in Louisiana the

Official reports of officers, proceedings of the provost courts, and journals of planters indicate that the enforcement of the regulations governing labor was the cause of chronic dispute between employers of freedmen and military authorities. Provost marshals, upon whom the immediate responsibility of enforcement fell, were besieged with complaints from both employers and freedmen.⁵ In some instances planters and lessees sought to win over the provost marshals by showering them with courtesies and favors, and there can be no doubt that their "politicizing" often bore fruit.⁶ A Northerner residing on a plantation in Louisiana in 1864 complained in a letter to the editor of the *New York Tribune*: "There is hardly any chance for a slave to gain redress for wrong committed by the lessees. . . . The provost-marshals and lessees are linked together in the scheme to defraud the Negro."⁷ Allegations of prejudice on the part of the provost marshals became so frequent that the commanding general of the Department of the Gulf included a provision in an order issued in 1864 requiring the removal of these officers in cases where owners or overseers used "undue influence" to move them from their "just balance."⁸

Planters were also subject to numerous regulations imposed by the treasury department. These had to do principally with the purchase of provisions and the sale of produce. As a rule, permits had to be secured from treasury agents before cotton or sugar could be shipped from the plantation. Affidavits had to be presented as proof of the fulfillment of the contracts with the laborers. If the planter were a government lessee,

previous month and made them the basis for regulations to govern the labor of freedmen in Federal-controlled portions of Mississippi, Arkansas, and West Tennessee. For Bank's General Order No. 23, see *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, 227-31. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. For Thomas' General Order No. 9, of March, 1864, see *ibid.*, Ser. III, Vol. IV, 166 ff.; and John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen* (New York, 1907), 153, 154.

⁵ Diary of A. Franklin Pugh (MS. in the Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge, cited hereafter as Pugh, Diary), entries of April 17, 21, 25, September 2, 1864; *New Orleans Times*, October 21, 1864; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 12, 1864.

⁶ J. McKaye, *The Emancipated Slave Face to Face with his Old Master* (New York, 1864), 26.

⁷ *New York Tribune*, quoted in the *New Orleans Tribune*, October 22, 1864.

⁸ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, 230.

receipts had to be presented to show that his rent had been paid to the proper treasury officials. Evidence also had to be presented to show that cotton brought forward for shipment was grown on the plantation of the shipper and that it belonged to the crop of the preceding season. A special permit was necessary for the transfer of produce from one treasury district to another. Planters shipping cotton from Natchez to New Orleans were required to pay numerous fees to various officials through whose hands the shipment passed. In some cases the whole value of a cotton shipment was consumed by fees before a sale could be effected. A lessee in the Natchez district who fell into the hands of the "Philistines," as treasury officials were sometimes termed, found himself "a loser to the extent of three hundred dollars" before he could complete the delivery and sale of his cotton.⁹ Knox had so much difficulty with treasury officials in his effort to market in New Orleans cotton grown on a plantation near Natchez that he became convinced that "there was something rotten in Denmark." According to his statement, "not a hundredth part of the official dishonesty at New Orleans and other points along the Mississippi will ever be known. Enough has been made public to condemn the whole system of permits and Treasury restrictions. . . . As they were managed during the last two years of the war, these agencies proved little else than schools of dishonesty."¹⁰

Early reconstruction farmers, whether native Southerners or Northern lessees, were frequently disturbed by visits to their plantations of recruiting officers in search of prospective Negro soldiers. These officers sometimes deprived the planter of his choicest laborers in the midst of the plowing or harvesting season.¹¹ Mules and wagons were also taken from plantations for use by military authorities. These deprivations worked great hardships on the planters, but their efforts to secure redress were usually futile.¹²

⁹ Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field*, 404.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 402, 403. For other intimations of inefficiency and dishonesty of treasury officials, see *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. I, 1049; and New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, March 14, 1865.

¹¹ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. III, 500; Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, 737; Vol. XLI, Pt. II, 519.

¹² New Orleans *Era*, August 9, 1864.

A difficulty peculiar to planters residing in areas lying on the outskirts of Federal-controlled portions of the Mississippi Valley was the constant danger of raids originating in the Confederacy. Some plantations were visited as many as three or four times a year by marauding parties of soldiers or guerrillas. The "rebels" seemed to derive particular pleasure from pillaging the establishments of "Yankee" lessees. But sometimes the victims of these depredations were native planters who had incurred the wrath of the soldiers by taking the oath of allegiance to the Union government and accepting the system of free labor.

The incursions from "rebeldom," whether the motive were punishment or pilfering, and whether the raiders were soldiers or brigands, were usually destructive in nature. Poultry and livestock were killed or taken away, Negroes were seized, crops were destroyed, and houses were burned. Sometimes planters and overseers were murdered.¹³ In 1864 the frequency and violence of guerrilla raids caused an abandonment before the summer was over of one third of the land originally leased in the Vicksburg district.¹⁴

The difficulties of cotton planters in the Lower Mississippi Valley were greatly enhanced in the autumn of 1864 by a disastrous invasion of the army worm. Crops which had been brought to near-maturity in spite of poor seed, inefficient labor, and Confederate raids were virtually wiped out by the countless hordes of greenish caterpillars which ravaged the cotton country throughout its length and breadth. It was estimated that in the Vicksburg district the havoc wrought by the army worm reduced the cotton crop from forty thousand to eight thousand bales.¹⁵

In the latter part of 1864 one of the "Yankee" planters of the Vicksburg area lifted up his voice in lamentation at the combined impositions of nature, "rebel" raiders, and treasury agents. In a letter to the *Wisconsin State Journal*, he wrote: "*Dear Journal*—'Who hath woe, who hath sorrow?' He that runneth a cotton crop on a Government plantation! Who hath much greenbacks and expecteth more? The official

¹³ Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field*, 448, 449.

¹⁴ John Eaton, *Report of the General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas for 1864* (Memphis, 1865), 35, 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

that letteth the plantation, blocketh the game [same?] during its cultivation, and putteth an embargo on the crop when raised! Who hath honesty undefiled? He that hath hair growing in the palm of his hand." Amid difficulties and at much expense, he continued, men from the North came down, stocked the plantations, and started a crop with the promise of military protection; "the thing was going off 'beautiful!' when lo! the guerrillas came and swept off all these Yankee assets like a whirlwind." Many lessees retired from the field in disgust. A few restocked their plantations and began anew. Shortly thereafter military orders were issued restricting the reception of plantation supplies. Then came Massachusetts recruiting officers who "raided every plantation . . . enlisting to the credit of the Old Bay State every able-bodied he-nigger in the country." The recruiters were followed in a short time by other officers with orders to take the planters' horses and mules.

"All these trials," according to the correspondent, "were borne with commendable fortitude, but, unfortunately, not a Christian spirit. So Divine Providence took a hand in and appointed the army worm as receivers of the crop." The army worm, he explained, "is so called from its resemblance to the army officers, who always appropriate to their own use at least nine-tenths of all the cotton that passes through their hands." Little cotton was left by the caterpillars. As the planters began to pick this "the officials went to inventing regulations and they could beat the planters two to one." This proved the coup de grace and, concluded the correspondent, "So mote it be."¹⁶

The compensation of laborers was a vexatious problem for Northern lessees and native planters alike. Considerable difficulty grew out of the fact that the recently liberated slaves had little knowledge of the meaning and value of money. The experience of a South Carolina plantation superintendent is illustrative of this point. When he placed forty dollars into the hands of "Old Nancy" as payment for picking cotton, he asked her how much she thought it was. "Me dunno, Massa," she answered. "You knows." "As much as ten dollars?" he asked. "Oh yes, Massa," she replied. "I tink you give me more nor dat." When

¹⁶ Quoted by the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, November 10, 1864.

"Sennet" was paid, she lifted up her hands and eyes and said, "Tank de Lord; I must go praise." "Old Grace," on being informed that the pay received by her was for the cultivation and picking of an entire bale of cotton, exclaimed, "Good God, me lib to raise bale o' cotton. Come along, Tim, let's get some vittle."¹⁷ An octogenarian darky, when handed a small bill, asked, "Dem figures on dere, dey Uncle Sam's wife?"¹⁸

Though the freedmen generally manifested delight and enthusiasm when they first began to receive wages, they soon learned to complain about the amount of money paid them. In some cases they were coached to raise objection to their remuneration by well-meaning but ill-advised friends from the North.¹⁹ The propensity of the darkies toward finding fault with whatever wages they received increased as they became more accustomed to the state of freedom. Almost every payday came to be characterized by murmurings, mutterings, and complaints. One Louisiana planter of the old regime became so irked by the recurrent wranglings with the darkies over their wages that he wrote in his diary just prior to a payday late in 1865: "Staid on New Hope Plantation all day preparing to settle with the Negroes. . . . I had almost as lief be shot as to do it, but it must be done."²⁰

One of the greatest difficulties confronting early reconstruction farmers in the Lower Mississippi Valley was the poor quality of work done by the Negroes under the free labor system. Both the old planters and the Northern lessees complained repeatedly of the slowness and the irresponsibility of the freedmen.²¹ One Northern labor superintendent said of Negroes working under his supervision in 1864: "It almost gives one the backache to witness their labor. . . . Their habit is to strike a few blows and then lean against a fence in the sun, and the last

¹⁷ Elizabeth W. Pearson (ed.), *Letters from Port Royal* (Boston, 1906), 222.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, June 21, 1865.

¹⁹ Pearson (ed.), *Letters from Port Royal*, 244.

²⁰ Pugh, *Diary*, December 17, 1865.

²¹ Eaton, *Report of the General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas for 1864*, p. 30; Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field*, 426; *New Orleans Times*, October 13, 21, 26, November 22, 1864.

as much as the first.”²² A native Louisiana planter alluded to the free labor system as a scheme “in which there is a good deal of the free, but little of the labor.”²³

There can be no doubt that the sudden removal of the traditional methods of control had a deleterious effect upon the labor and general conduct of the Negroes. Lying, thieving, quarreling, fighting, and destruction of property were all accentuated in the early days of freedom. A Louisiana planter wrote in 1864 that his outbuildings not in use were torn to pieces and gradually destroyed. “In fact,” he said, “a spirit of destruction and semi-barbarism seems to pervade a country once noted for . . . the tidiness of its buildings and fencing.”²⁴ Another “old planter” wrote that Negroes would “take horses or mules at will, and travel all night. . . . There is no police, no watch, no guards to arrest them, and proprietors or employers are powerless. . . . The usual safeguards of locks, houses, [and] fences, are as nothing.”²⁵

In the fall of 1864, General Nathaniel Banks invited comment from the planters of Louisiana on the workings of his regulations regarding plantations and labor with a view to making helpful changes for the coming year. Several of the native planters took advantage of this invitation to give their experiences under Federal occupation; and for the first time since Benjamin Butler’s arrival in Louisiana in the spring of 1862, a New Orleans paper published open criticisms of the new regime. The unanimous testimony of those who expressed themselves on this occasion was that the Negroes worked very poorly under the free labor system.

One of these articles—the experience of an “old planter”—is particularly valuable on account of its moderate tone and the evident desire of the author to be fair. For thirty-seven years this correspondent had been engaged in raising sugar cane and cotton on the same estate. He had seventy-five good field hands, all except five or six of whom remained

²² Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 1864 (Boston, 1865), 45.

²³ New Orleans *Times*, October 13, 1864.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, October 13, 21, 1864.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1864.

with him after the Federal occupation. His average crop before the War was from six hundred to eleven hundred hogsheads of sugar. When the Federals occupied the area embracing his farm in the fall of 1862, he immediately went over to the wage system, paying his hands a dollar a day during the harvesting season. But despite the use of every incentive in the way of money and "moral suasion," and the co-operation of the military authorities in preserving order, he finished the season with a crop of less than one hundred hogsheads of sugar. In 1863 the defection of his "free laborers" during the important cutting and boiling season reduced to forty hogsheads a crop which "was considered good for 800 hlds." at the beginning of the harvesting period. The season of 1864 was begun under new government regulations calculated to stimulate the freedmen to increased exertion. But these rules, providing higher wages, proved as ineffective as the old ones. The planter became quite convinced that "the nature of the negro cannot be changed by the offer of more or less money—all he desires is to eat, drink and sleep, and perform the least possible amount of labor. . . . I am safe to say that I do not receive more than half of what would be considered by any impartial judge as fair labor from the laborers I have employed." The contributor closed his article with a poignantly pessimistic note: "the ordinary laborers engaged on my plantation before the war," he said, "kept it in perfect repair and in good working order; but under the present order of things, not a ditch has been dug. . . . The fences are all rotting down, the buildings are decaying and going to ruin, with no means of preventing or remedying the evils. . . . Wherever you look the eye rests on nothing but the relics of former things fast passing to destruction."²⁶

At a meeting of planters held in New Orleans in November, 1864, a speaker drew a vivid picture of the Negroes' labor on the plantation under the new regime. They started out, he said, at seven o'clock in the morning and before one o'clock every one of them came back. On the weekly visit of the provost marshal all hands would work faithfully as

²⁶ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1864. For experiences of other planters, see *ibid.*, October 13, 26, November 2, 1864.

long as he was in sight. They always seemed to know when he was coming. But after he left they relapsed into their habits of idleness.²⁷

The Negroes on "Mooreland," the plantation of Governor Thomas O. Moore of Louisiana, caused their employer a great amount of worry and concern on account of their indolence under the free labor system. In the back of the plantation account book covering the period from 1860 to 1867, there is a section captioned "General Conduct of the Freedmen and Women Employed, 1866," entered by the owner or someone representing him.²⁸ The entry dated January 24 contains a complaint that Julia was "lazy, indolent and insolent. . . . on one occasion when asked when the hands would finish a certain cut, [Julia] replied when they were done they would be finished, that has been the character of replies from her. . . . the nursing her infant and the advantage it affords her to take to lose time make her only a half hand."

From February 28 to April 24 there are a number of complaints against Dallas who seems to have been a particularly bad case.

[March] 5, while sitting where the plowers were, Dallas stopped as to obey a call of nature, went into the woods and remained 15½ minutes, that night I sent for him to give him a private talk on the impropriety of such a long stay and other conduct of his to correspond with the same he was aware of it, but said he was fixing his breeches—[March] 6. Yesterday the same was repeated in [the] presence of [the] Ag[en]t and when spoken to replied he had tried to please and now did not care a G-d d--n—such language is used in the presence of the Agt. frequently and often in mine and the plowing by this boy is not half done—[March] 8—Mr. Wiley remarked to him that he "would not let the others gain a round before breakfast" [in plowing], he replied if he did there was nobody to whip him for it. . . . April 24. Whipping his mule and his plowing so badly I had to make Sandy follow after him. . . . I showed his work to him and asked him a half dozen times if he thought he could do it worse, he made no reply but stuck his mouth out contemptuously and drove off.

On one page there is an undated blanket complaint given after this fashion:

Tony	Without any complaint being made to me by . . . those freedmen
John	& women 9½ o'clock W[ednesday] they took out their teams from

²⁷ *Ibid.*, November 22, 1864.

²⁸ This manuscript is in the University of Texas Library, Austin.

Romeo the plow and came home saying, "it was too bad to plow"—The
 Peter land is black, stiff, sticky, prairie land, that always plows badly, you
 Ben can't work it dry and bad to do so wet, but what I complain of—if
 Warren my Agt. did not in *their opinion* do his duty and remove them to
 Dallas some other point, *why did they not come to me and make the state-*
 Jordon *ment above.* Their conduct is *disobedient*, defiant, disrespectful and
 George L. shows in the extreme a disregard for my interest and I require the
 Eliza infliction of some severe punishment or penalty. I go but seldom
 Amanda where they are at work, from the fact that the conduct of several is
 Ann so disobedient and disrespectful and annoying that I am forced to try
 Jenny & do all through my Agt.

Three years after the War had ended the following notice, signed "B," Butler, Georgia, appeared in a Southern agricultural journal:

\$50 Reward.

Is offered for information that will enable me to make a living and make the ends meet on my farm by the use of Negro labor. I have a good farm and all the necessary appliances and have been trying to do the above uphill task for three mortal years of freedom but haven't done it—have exhausted all my theories and those of my neighbors, and am about giving the matter up for good.²⁹

The testimony of this Georgian given in 1868 has a tone strikingly similar to that of "old planters" in Louisiana and Mississippi in 1864 and 1865. Truly, the accumulation of difficulties accruing from government regulations, guerrilla raids, disasters of nature, and the undependability of freed labor created a situation utterly discouraging to the most stalwart of reconstruction farmers.

²⁹ *Southern Cultivator* (Augusta, Athens, Atlanta, 1843-1931), XXVI (1868), 207.

The Turnpike Phase of Tennessee's Internal Improvement System of 1836-1838

By STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE

The wave of interest in internal improvements which swept the country during the decade of the 1830's affected Tennessee along with the other Western states and led to the adoption of a system of state aid to the improvement of transportation facilities. The people of Middle Tennessee, however, remained consistently opposed to the adoption of such a policy; yet this section obtained the only immediate benefits from the system of state aid despite the opposition of its citizens. This was in part because Middle Tennesseans conservatively restricted their activities to the improvement of the good old-fashioned wagon roads rather than allowing their attention to be distracted by fanciful dreams of railroads.

By 1830 the city of Nashville had already developed into the commercial metropolis of the state, its growth having been especially rapid after steamboat navigation on the Cumberland River had enabled it to become a distributing center of the import and export trade not only of Middle Tennessee but even of some parts of East Tennessee and the Western District. A real obstacle to the continued development of Nashville's trade existed, however, in the absence of good roads leading out from the city into the tributary sections of the state. This was largely responsible for the fact that some of the outlying towns of Middle Tennessee became temporarily affected by the railroad fever which reached Tennessee early in the thirties. The citizens of Columbia, for example, became enthusiastic over the possibilities of a railroad stretching diagonally across the state and connecting the Mississippi

River with the Atlantic seaboard. The construction of such a railroad would relieve them, they hoped, of their subserviency to Nashville, make Columbia the metropolis of the state, and leave the proud Nashville high and dry on the banks of the Cumberland.¹

One Nashville editor² commented that a good turnpike between Nashville and Columbia would effectively destroy that railroad enthusiasm. He warned the merchants of Nashville that if such a road were not soon provided the people of Columbia might stop building "airy railroads" and concentrate on the construction of a turnpike to the Tennessee River, and that the trade of this region would then be lost to Nashville forever. A good macadamized road had already been constructed from Nashville to Franklin, but from Franklin to Columbia the road was generally in an impassable condition. He described vividly in his editorial the difficulties faced by the people of the Columbia region in their efforts to bring their cotton to Nashville:

With a heavy load of cotton a strong team cannot travel more than 10 or 15 miles a day. The mud is from 6 to 18 inches deep, the ruts are frequent and dangerous quagmires, which occur "ever and anon," are bridged over with logs that are often broken or decayed. Blackie whistles up his horses as cheerily as he can, taking the cold and mud into consideration—they, poor fellows, reeking with perspiration, while all around is chill and damp—with nostrils distended and sending forth volumes of vapour—strain every muscle until you would think every muscle would crack—when pop—down goes one of the hind wheels into a deep *mire* and the whole establishment is stalled. The driver whips and swears and sweats—the horses pull and plunge—the gears break—some of the cotton bales are tossed off in the *melee*—and, thus, at last, after three or four days of toil and labour, by mending the gears with *hickory withes*, and propping the wheels with *fence rails* and probably losing part of his cargo by the way side, the tired driver and jaded horses reach Franklin, with a load of six or eight bales of cotton.

When the railroad interests introduced in the legislative session of 1835-1836 a bill providing for state subscriptions to the stock of a number of railroad companies, some members from Middle Tennessee, under the leadership of Senator Terry Cahal of Maury County, suc-

¹ W. W. Campbell to James K. Polk, February 18, 1834, Polk Papers (MSS., Library of Congress); Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*, September 11, 27, 1834.

² Washington Barrow, in Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*, November 18, 1834.

ceeded in having the measure amended before it became a law so as to extend its benefits to turnpike companies.³ The bill as enacted provided that the state should subscribe, under certain restrictions, for one third of the stock of any and all companies incorporated by the state for the construction of railroads or macadamized turnpikes. No state subscription was to be made until the other two thirds of the stock of the company applying had been subscribed by individuals; and even then the state subscription might be withheld if, in the opinion of the governor, treasurer, and secretary of state, the individual subscriptions were not "well secured." After the subscription had been made, the state was to be subject to calls for payment along with the other subscribers, these payments to be made in the form of state bonds bearing five and one fourth per cent interest. The company receiving the bonds was required to pay this interest semiannually, but was allowed to deduct the amounts thus paid from the dividends due the state on its stock. The governor was directed to appoint for the state a proportionate number of directors; and in each case the state subscription was limited to one third of the amount necessary to construct that part of the railroad or turnpike located within the limits of Tennessee.⁴

Although the amendment including turnpikes in the system won the votes of several members from Middle Tennessee, a large majority of the legislators from this section still cast their votes against the measure as a whole. The delegation from the Western District was about evenly divided, while that from East Tennessee was almost unanimously in favor of the bill.⁵ There is some evidence indicating that the anti-Jackson party, which was soon to affiliate with the national Whig organization, was slightly more in favor of state aid to internal improvements than the Jackson-Van Buren group. This tendency, however, has been some-

³ Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1835-1836, pp. 393, 482.

⁴ Tennessee *Public Acts*, 1835-1836, pp. 108-10.

⁵ Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1835-1836, pp. 393, 482; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1835-1836, p. 532. The votes changed by the turnpike amendment were those of the senators from Davidson, Rutherford, Williamson, Smith, and Sumner counties. With one exception, the representatives from these populous Middle Tennessee counties opposed or refrained from voting on the bill as it passed the House in the restricted form, applying only to railroads.

what overestimated.⁶ The internal improvement issue was in Tennessee much more definitely a sectional than a partisan question.

About the only party relationship observable in 1836 was in connection with the national problem of the distribution of the surplus in the Federal treasury. When Governor Newton Cannon called a special session of the legislature in 1836 to consider the disposition to be made of Tennessee's share, the internal improvement interests tried vigorously to have this money made available for the use of railroad and turnpike companies. As expressed by one East Tennessee representative, the "Van Buren party interest" opposed this proposition because, being opposed to the whole idea of distribution, it was "afraid to let the people get a taste of its benefits."⁷ Another important faction opposing an appropriation of the surplus for internal improvements consisted of the commercial and banking interests of Nashville, although this group was to become the dominating element of the Whig party. The Nashville interest preferred to keep the money in the banks of that city for the use of its citizens, realizing that these banks had already expanded their operations to such an extent that the withdrawal of Federal deposits at that time might be disastrous. Many Nashville merchants also believed that "any system of internal improvements, beyond a set of macadamized roads, all radiating from this point, is calculated to injure the trade of Nashville, by diverting it to other points."⁸ In accord with these desires, the surplus was deposited in the banks of Nashville and Memphis, and only a small portion of the interest which would accrue to the state was appropriated for the survey of a route for a central railroad or turnpike and of that part of the route of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad within the limits of Tennessee.⁹

By the time the legislature convened in the fall of 1837, only the LaGrange and Memphis Railroad and three Middle Tennessee turnpike

⁶ See Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), XII (1926), 510.

⁷ "Circular of Orville Bradley" (to citizens of Greene and Hawkins counties), *Nashville Republican*, November 8, 1836.

⁸ *Ibid.* See, also, n. 5, above.

⁹ *Tennessee Public Acts*, 1836 (extra session), 9-12, 12-14.

companies had been able to qualify for state subscriptions under the act of 1836, although a great number of railroads and turnpikes had been chartered during the two preceding sessions.¹⁰ There developed, therefore, a vigorous movement for an increase in the amount of state aid. West Tennesseans were clamoring for the construction of a central railroad entirely at the expense of the state and for additional aid to the LaGrange to Memphis project. The president of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad Company, Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, was in Nashville appealing for banking privileges and a subscription of a million dollars. The rival Hiwassee Railroad and the river interests of many isolated sections were no less insistent; and at least one Middle Tennessee turnpike company was petitioning the legislature for an increase in the amount of the state subscription to one half. The projectors of turnpikes in West Tennessee were also dissatisfied with the law of 1836 because it restricted state aid to macadamized roads, which were impossible of construction in that section because of the absence of stone in the soil.¹¹

The distribution of the treasury surplus by act of Congress had stimulated not only the internal improvement interests, but also the advocates of state aid to public education, both of which groups had been led to anticipate legislative aid by the constitutional mandate of 1834 directing the general assembly to encourage internal improvements and education.¹² The crushing blow of the panic of 1837, instead of lessening the imperious nature of the demands of these interests, had actually increased the necessity for aid, and in addition had brought forth the argument that an extensive system of internal improvements would provide labor for the people and thus relieve the economic pressure. It also led to a vigorous demand for an increase in banking facilities.

¹⁰ Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1837-1838, pp. 18-20. The three turnpikes were the Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Shelbyville, the Gallatin, and the Lebanon and Nashville. *Ibid.*, 1839-1840, pp. 142-48.

¹¹ Archives of Tennessee (War Memorial Building, Nashville), Petitions and Memorials, 1837-1838; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1837-1838, p. 196; appendix, 762-77, 836-59, 862-71. See, also, Stanley J. Folmsbee, "The Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 5 (1933), 81-104.

¹² Constitution of 1834, Art. XI, secs. 9, 10.

In an effort to reconcile these various and conflicting interests, Andrew L. Martin, a representative from Madison County, fathered a "magnificent scheme" which brought them all together in "one fraternity,"¹³ and which was enacted into law as the Bank and Improvement Act of 1838. It provided for the establishment of a state bank, an annual subsidy to public education, and aid to internal improvements to a maximum extent of \$4,000,000. Of this amount, \$300,000 was set aside for river improvement, to be divided equally among the three sections, and the remainder was made available for state subscriptions of one half—instead of one third—of the stock of railroad and turnpike companies. These subscriptions were to be apportioned among the three sections as follows: East Tennessee, \$1,300,000; Middle Tennessee, \$1,500,000; and the Western District, \$900,000.

Unfortunately, in view of the decline in the price of state bonds, the state subscription bonds were to bear only five per cent interest instead of five and one fourth as under the previous law. If they could not be negotiated at par value by the state bank they were to be turned over to the internal improvement companies involved, which were allowed to sell them for what they would bring. The bank was made responsible for the payment of the interest on the bonds, but if the profits of the bank, together with the dividends on the state stock in railroad and turnpike companies, should be insufficient to meet this interest, the governor was authorized to call upon the individual stockholders in these companies to make up the deficiency.

An attempt was made to correct a serious defect in the act of 1836 by providing that the state subscriptions should be paid in installments of fifteen per cent which were not to be due until affidavits had been submitted showing that the same amount had been collected from the individual subscribers. The act extended the state aid system to companies engaged in the construction of "graded" and "sanded" turnpikes, but limited the amount of aid to \$1000 and \$750 per mile, respectively, and set an upper limit of \$3000 per mile for macadamized roads. It also directed the governor to appoint half of the directors of each

¹³ Daniel Graham to Polk, November 26, 1837, Polk Papers.

company, and required that these state directors should not be stockholders.¹⁴

As was the case in 1836, the passage of the bill was made possible by a combination of East and West Tennessee votes over the opposition of a majority of the legislators from Middle Tennessee.¹⁵ The division according to parties, on the other hand, was very close, the Democrats dividing evenly in the House, eighteen to eighteen, and supporting the bill by a six to four vote in the Senate; and the Whigs favoring the measure by a rather small margin of twenty to eighteen in the House and by a nine to four vote in the Senate. It must be admitted, however, that some of the Democratic support of the bill was dictated by the political desire to nullify the Whig agitation in favor of the establishment of a national bank.¹⁶ Nevertheless, when a record vote was taken in the House on a motion of the prominent Whig, Neill S. Brown, to strike out all of the internal improvement features of the bill, the Democrats voted nineteen to seventeen against it.¹⁷ It is also significant that the debate in favor of the internal improvement provisions was led by such prominent Democrats as A. O. P. Nicholson in the House and Joseph Guild in the Senate. Even the recognized parent of the measure, Andrew L. Martin of West Tennessee, although usually co-operating with the Whigs, was generally alluded to as a "Nullifier."

¹⁴ Tennessee *Acts*, 1837-1838, pp. 153-66. Banking privileges had been granted to the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad earlier in the session. *Ibid.*, 16-26.

¹⁵ Tennessee *House Journal*, 1837-1838, pp. 323-24; Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1837-1838, pp. 360-61. The sectional distribution of votes was as follows:

	<i>East Tennessee</i>		<i>Middle Tennessee</i>		<i>West Tennessee</i>	
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
House	20	3	9	27	9	6
Senate	5	1	5	7	5	0

All three of the East Tennessee representatives and three of the six West Tennesseans who opposed the bill represented counties adjoining and in some cases extending over into Middle Tennessee.

¹⁶ James Walker to Polk, December 7, 1837, A. J. Nicholson to Polk, January 4, 1838, James H. Talbot to Polk, February 16, 1838, Polk Papers; A. C. Caruthers to William B. Campbell, January 28, 1838, Campbell Papers (in possession of Mr. E. R. Campbell, Nashville, Tennessee). Middle Tennessee was also more conservative in regard to banking and currency questions than the less fortunately endowed sections to the east and west. Claude A. Campbell, *The Development of Banking in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1932), 104 n.

¹⁷ Tennessee *House Journal*, 1837-1838, p. 323. Information concerning the party affiliation of the members was obtained mainly from a list printed in the Nashville *Union*,

The position taken by the Whig Senator representing Nashville and Davidson County, William E. Anderson, is also interesting. He voted for the bill when it had been modified so as to restrict the state subscriptions to one third of the stock of the internal improvement companies to be aided, but he voted against it after the one-half feature had been restored. Earlier in the session he had led a movement in favor of the repeal of the state aid law of 1836 or a restriction of its operation to the funds made available by the distribution of surplus revenue. This was to a certain extent in reply to a resolution submitted by a Whig member from East Tennessee pointing out that under the one-third system the Eastern and Western divisions, because of lack of capital, were unable to "avail themselves equally of the benefits of the existing law and made to sustain in this behalf, the odious relation of colonies to Middle Tennessee."¹⁸

The operation of the more liberal law of 1838, however, did not restore the balance among the sections; instead, it enabled Middle Tennessee to monopolize even more completely the benefits of the state aid system. The East Tennessee representatives, abnormally excited over the prospects of railroad transportation, arranged to have the whole of the state subscription allotted to this section divided equally between the Hiwassee and the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston railroad companies. The turnpike companies of East Tennessee were to be eligible for state aid only in case one of these railroad enterprises should fail, and in the long run even this hope was to become illusory. Shortly after the death in 1839 of its chief promoter, Robert Y. Hayne, the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Company abandoned its transmontane undertaking and agreed to a cancellation of the Tennessee

August 17, 1837. An examination of some of the votes on party measures in the legislature indicates that the Democratic *Union* may have been somewhat overoptimistic in making its list of Democratic members. Using as an alternative index of party affiliation the votes cast on October 21 for E. H. Foster and William Carroll, respectively, for United States senator, one still finds, however, the Democrats opposing the motion to strike out the internal improvement features of the bill by a vote of fourteen to twelve. The use of this index for the other votes cited gives a similar result.

¹⁸ See Nashville *Union* and Knoxville *Register* for the months of November and December, 1837, and January, 1838; Caruthers to Campbell, January 28, 1838, Campbell Papers; Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1837-1838, pp. 142, 155, 315-16.

subscription without any loss to the state other than the small amount appropriated for the survey of the route through Tennessee. The Hiwassee Railroad qualified for the state subscription and received a total of \$357,000 in bonds before it also lapsed into bankruptcy in 1842.¹⁹

In West Tennessee the LaGrange and Memphis Railroad, with the aid of \$216,250 in state bonds, succeeded in grading most of its line and actually put a train in operation for about six miles in 1844; but then it, too, collapsed when the management of its affairs failed to withstand the searching light of a state investigation.²⁰ Several turnpike companies in the Western Division qualified for state subscriptions; but not one of them was able to overcome the obstacles of difficult terrain and corrupt management and carry its enterprise to completion.

It was only in Middle Tennessee that any immediate benefits were derived from the state aid laws of 1836 and 1838. Although some slight interest was manifested in one or two railroads under consideration, none of them materialized. Consequently, all of the state stock actually subscribed in this section was in turnpike companies. Aided by a more plentiful supply of capital, the greater number of customers, and the absence of any serious natural impediments, the people of this section were able to construct an extensive system of macadamized roads radiating, in general, from the metropolis of Nashville. The construction of these turnpikes contributed materially to the rapid rise of this city and of Middle Tennessee to a position of dominance in the economic and political life of the state.

This success was not attained, however, without resort to practices of a somewhat fraudulent character. Even at the time of the enactment of the Act of 1838, many of the projectors of turnpikes in both Middle and West Tennessee realized that there were loopholes in the law which, they hoped, would enable them to construct their roads entirely

¹⁹ Folmsbee, "Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee," *loc. cit.* The Hiwassee project was later revived under the name of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, and completed by 1855 with the aid of the payment of the remainder of the state subscription and with additional aid in the form of loans.

²⁰ Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, *Tennessee House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 1-8; Thomas D. Clark, "The Building of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad," in *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 13-15.

at the expense of the state. As described by a friend of the future governor, William B. Campbell, in a letter written while the bill was still under consideration, the scheme was to have a company of about ten men subscribe for the stock in a turnpike company and borrow the amount—say \$70,000—required to pay for the stock in full, which would entitle them to receive the same amount in state bonds. They would then get the contract for the construction of the whole road “by fair underbidding” at the estimated cost of \$140,000, borrow the whole fund from the board of directors, of which members of their own group would comprise one half, and buy 300 Negroes, who would be able to build the road in one year. When the road was completed they would be able to sell the Negroes at an advance of \$100 each, and since all their expenses should not have exceeded \$40,000, they would be able to pay back the \$70,000 borrowed, and still have a clear profit of \$60,000 in addition to their stock in the road.²¹

The official correspondence between the directors of the turnpikes and Governor Cannon reveals that there was a very obvious tendency on the part of the stockholders to take every advantage they could of the state in the operation of the law. In some cases rival groups of stockholders attempted to secure control of the same turnpike company, thus causing considerable confusion, combined with charges and counter-charges. In order to facilitate the awarding of the contract to themselves, the individual directors usually insisted that the whole road be let in one contract, thus preventing individual farmers from obtaining contracts for short sections of the road in their own communities; and they also required contractors to accept payment one half in stock and the other half in state bonds. This would enable them, with the collusion of as few as one or two of the state directors, to increase the capitalization of the company and the amount of their own bid to approximately twice the expected cost of construction of the road.²²

²¹ Caruthers to Campbell, January 28, 1838, Campbell Papers.

²² See, especially, the correspondence and certificates sent to Governor Cannon by the Memphis, Somerville, and Bolivar, the Lebanon, the Chambers and Purdy, the Somerville and Brownsville, and the Central turnpike companies, Governors' Papers (Tennessee State Library, Nashville).

It was not long before the newspapers of Middle Tennessee began to print comments on the fraudulent practices of some of the companies. One correspondent of the Nashville *Whig* told of a contract let for the construction of a turnpike over "very bad ground" at an average cost of \$4500 per mile, whereas another road "running on very good ground had been let at \$6,000 per mile." He explained that in the case of the latter road, when the leaders of the company had shown the "cloven foot," some of the stockholders had withdrawn, believing that the plan proposed "would be as bad as cheating 'Uncle Sam,' nay, worse, as he had the stronger back." The others then assumed complete control of the company and let the contract to themselves at the exorbitant rate of \$6000 per mile. Another correspondent stated sarcastically, "Who ever thought there was any harm in cheating the State, especially if it was done according to law? . . . to outwit a whole legislature shows either a pretty shrewd fellow, or they [the legislators] are a bunch of noodles, and no one believes that." It was his opinion that the intention of the legislature had been to put \$4,000,000 in circulation to relieve the economic pressure on the people and "stop their mouths" on the question of a national bank, and that the actual construction of roads was a matter of secondary concern.²³

Governor Cannon, in an honest effort to check the fraudulent practices, issued two circulars²⁴ to the state directors of internal improvement companies, in which he attempted to prescribe a uniform rule of action. In the first circular, issued on September 18, 1838, he stated with reference to the intention of the legislature regarding the payments of the individual subscriptions that "an actual payment in *money*, by the stockholders, was meant, in all cases, without evasion, in any manner whatever." He therefore requested that the certificates submitted to him in connection with applications for bonds be more specific on that point.

On March 25, 1839, he issued a second circular in which he expressed disappointment that the first one had failed to have the proper effect.

²³ Nashville *Whig*, March 19, 25, 1839.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1838; March 27, 1839. Printed copies of the two circulars may be found in the Governors' Papers (Cannon). There is also a copy of the second in the Polk Papers.

Whereas some companies had been content to proceed upon what they deemed the "good faith implied with the partnership with the State, without reference to the advantages which a technical construction of the act might possibly authorize," others were aiming to "avail themselves of the most unguarded provisions of the law, in demanding of the state her bonds in large amounts altogether in advance of their work, and for the avowed purpose of *purchasing* the hands necessary to carry on the work under their immediate superintendence." Should this policy be acquiesced in, the sums appropriated to the three grand divisions of the state would be "entirely inadequate to the accomplishment of the great purpose contemplated by the Representatives of the people." To prevent this outcome the Governor had decided, in the distribution of the bonds, to give preference to those companies which had the "strongest claim upon the State, on the score of actual labor done," or which were proceeding on the "most speedy, safe, and *economical* plan, by inviting competition and participation in the labor from the citizens generally, on the line of the road." The legislature could not have designed, "while *professedly encouraging* Internal Improvements, to encourage also, speculation at the expense of the State—making the first great object, a pretext, for the pecuniary aggrandizement of certain individuals, who might associate together, with a view to a profitable operation on the capital and credit of the State."

That these circulars were somewhat effective in reducing the extent of private speculation with state funds is indicated by the reduction in the amount of state bonds issued to turnpike companies from \$317,500 during the six months preceding the date of the second circular to \$55,000 during the six months which followed.²⁵ Nevertheless, the rumors of fraud and the fears engendered by the large debt which was being incurred by the state, together with the failure of the railroad enterprises in the midst of the economic depression, led to the repeal of the state aid laws in 1840. Although this act was passed during the Democratic administration of Governor James K. Polk, it seems not to have been opposed by the Whigs as a party measure. In fact, Governor

²⁵ Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, pp. 18-26.

Polk, in his recommendations to the legislature, was much more liberal in regard to the question of internal improvements than Cannon had been in his retiring message presented a few days before.²⁶

The repeal measure merely stopped any further subscriptions of stock on the part of the state to internal improvement companies. Where subscriptions had already been made, the state was still under obligation to continue the issuance of bonds until the state subscriptions had been paid in full. An effort was made, however, to surround the operation of the law in the future with additional safeguards, in the hope that the interest of the state might be more carefully protected. The act directed the governor, before issuing any more bonds, to appoint three disinterested commissioners to inspect the work done on the road making the application and also to certify the amounts paid in by the individual subscribers. Furthermore, it directed the attorney general to file suit against any company which in the opinion of the governor had obtained or applied the state subscription in a fraudulent manner. It also provided that any company which desired to do so might voluntarily dissolve its partnership with the state and return any state bonds it had received; or it might agree to a reduction in its capital stock, which would proportionately reduce the amount to which the state was obligated.²⁷ Only a few companies, however, took advantage of either of these opportunities. By 1844, therefore, the internal improvement debt of Tennessee had grown to \$1,738,416.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ of which \$1,165,166.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ represented bonds issued in aid of turnpike construction.²⁸

The fact that all of the improvements actually completed were located in Middle Tennessee materially accentuated the evil of sectionalism in the state. The internal improvement interests of East and West Tennessee demanded that the state aid system be continued at least

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 397; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1839-1840, pp. 9-15, 53-68, 540-41.

²⁷ Tennessee *Acts*, 1839-1840, pp. 1-7.

²⁸ Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, Tennessee *House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 22; Message of Governor Polk, October 7, 1841, Tennessee *House Journal*, 1841-1842, pp. 9-29. The Livingston, the Harpeth and Farmington, and the Shelbyville and Fayetteville companies abandoned their undertakings; the Nashville and Kentucky, the Gallatin and Cumberland, and the Harpeth (after a suit had been filed against it) agreed to reductions in capitalization.

until the bonds actually issued should be distributed among the sections in accordance with what they called the "sacred compromise" of 1838. One of the major causes of dissension was the refusal of the Middle Tennessee representatives to allow any reassignment of the \$650,000 subscription to the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad Company after this company had agreed to surrender its Tennessee charter in 1840. Although this outcome was due in part to the failure of the East Tennessee representatives to come to any agreement as to the apportionment of this legacy among the several claimants, including the Hiwassee Railroad and the river, banking, and turnpike interests, the Easterners' disappointment was so great that their representatives petitioned the legislature for the right to form a separate state.²⁹ At about the same time, Middle Tennessee, already favored by an improvement of the Cumberland River at Federal expense, initiated a movement to cancel the unsold bonds issued in 1838 in aid of river improvement. Although these bonds were eventually canceled, the East and West Tennessee representatives succeeded in obtaining an appropriation of \$100,000 from the profits of the bank for the improvement of the rivers in each of these sections. So bitter, however, did the debate on this issue become that one West Tennessee representative prophesied that there would soon appear an "Attila, the Hun," who would lead a host out of the hills and mountains of East Tennessee, and a "Peter, the Hermit," who would preach a "crusade" in the Western District; and an avalanche would sweep over the plains of Middle Tennessee, leaving desolation and waste in its path.³⁰

When the state aid system had been instituted, it was confidently expected that the dividends on the state stock would be sufficient to provide a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds at maturity, as well as to provide for the semiannual interest payments. Such was not

²⁹ Folmsbee, "Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, 99-102. There were, of course, other influences behind this separate statehood movement, particularly slavery, and the failure of East Tennessee to get her usual United States senator. West Tennessee, at the same time, petitioned for separate statehood. *Tennessee Senate Journal*, 1841-1842, p. 288.

³⁰ *Tennessee Acts*, 1841-1842, pp. 89-91; *Nashville Whig*, February 8, 1842.

the case, however. Although most of the turnpikes had been completed by the time the legislature convened in October, 1843, only one company had as yet paid any dividends on the state stock; and the total amount received from this company was only \$3696.³¹ There was created, therefore, a legislative committee authorized to investigate the affairs of every internal improvement company in which the state was a stockholder, and also to make settlements with these companies as to future relationships. There were to be three members of the committee, one from each grand division of the state. They were instructed to inquire and report to the next session of the general assembly: (1) the actual cost of the roads, (2) the amounts paid in by the individual stockholders and by the state, (3) the whole amount of revenue collected by each company and how appropriated, (4) what companies had been organized and had received state bonds, (5) what progress had been made in the construction of the roads, and (6) what amount of bonds had been issued and to what companies since the repeal act of January, 1840. They were authorized to summon witnesses and they were to have free access to all books and papers of the companies investigated.³²

This committee was organized immediately after the adjournment of the legislature with Robert W. Powell of the Senate as chairman. Its detailed report, submitted to the next general assembly in the fall of 1845,³³ indicates rather conclusively that the rumors of fraud were not without foundation. Of the twenty-two turnpike companies that had received state bonds, fourteen had succeeded in completing a total of about 410 miles of macadamized roads, all of which was located in Middle Tennessee.³⁴ One other company had recently begun the con-

³¹ Report of the President of the Bank of Tennessee, *Tennessee Senate Journal*, 1843-1844, appendix, 2-6.

³² *Tennessee Acts*, 1843-1844, pp. 239-40, 268-69.

³³ Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, *Tennessee House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 1-52.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 46-47 *et passim*. The turnpike companies which were reported as having completed, or practically completed, their roads were: the Columbia, Pulaski, Elkton, and Alabama, the Gallatin, the Lebanon and Nashville, the Clarksville and Russellville, the Nashville and Charlotte, the Columbia Central, the Jefferson, the Harpeth, the Franklin and Columbia, the Lebanon and Sparta, the Nolensville, the Nashville and Kentucky, the Gallatin and Cumberland, and the Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Shelbyville. The last was completed under the act of 1836, with only one third of the stock subscribed by the state.

struction of a turnpike from Murfreesboro to Manchester in accordance with an agreement which it had negotiated with the state in December, 1843. The other seven companies, to which a total of \$220,500 in bonds had been issued, either had constructed roads so poorly located as to be comparatively useless and completely unremunerative or had made practically no attempt to construct their roads at all. Three of these companies operated in Middle Tennessee. Concerning one of them, the Chambers and Purdy Turnpike Company, the committee reported that the "whole amount paid in by the state [was] fraudulently diverted to purposes of individual speculation."³⁵ Some time previously a new group of state directors appointed by Governor Polk had reported that the former president of this company had informed them that he had disposed of the bonds he had received at a discount of twenty-five per cent, "and that there was not any portion of them applied to the construction of said Road."³⁶ Another Middle Tennessee company, the Cumberland and Stone River, failed to respond to the "interrogatories" submitted to it by the committee. It was later revealed, however, that the major portion of the \$107,000 in bonds which it had obtained from the state had been "embezzled by the managers." A suit was filed against the company in an effort to recover these funds, and in 1852 an appropriation of \$12,000 was made in an unsuccessful attempt to complete the road and make it productive of revenue.³⁷

In West Tennessee only four turnpike companies succeeded in qualifying for state aid.³⁸ One of these, the Big Hatchie Turnpike and Bridge Company, was organized as early as 1832, and before the state aid system had been instituted it had succeeded in building a part of the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁶ Lindsey Sanders *et al.* to Polk, May 13, 1841, Governors' Papers. See, also, W. H. Beavers to Polk, January 1, 20, 1841, *ibid.*

³⁷ Nashville *Union*, December 19, 1849; Tennessee *Public Acts*, 1849-1850, p. 592; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1859-1860, appendix, 279-86. The third Middle Tennessee project which failed to complete its undertaking, the Pelham and Jasper, was eventually abandoned, a total loss to both the state and individual subscribers. Tennessee *House Journal*, 1859-1860, appendix, 279-86.

³⁸ These were the Big Hatchie Turnpike and Bridge Company, and the Ashport, the Fulton, and the Forked Deer turnpike companies. Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, Tennessee *House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 46-47.

road and in constructing a bridge over the Big Hatchie River. It had lapsed into bankruptcy, however, and was reorganized in 1838 only because of the prospects of obtaining state aid. At about that time the company met with another disaster, as what was left of the bridge was swept away by a flood. During the remainder of its corporate existence, the company operated a ferry at that point, and it seems evident that the tolls collected at this ferry constituted its chief source of revenue, other than \$14,000 in bonds which it obtained from the state. At any rate three of the state directors had recorded in the minutes of the company a protest against the use of the proceeds from the sale of the bonds for the payment of old debts and the making of inconsequential repairs, since the individual stockholders had "paid into the Treasury but a very small proportion of the amount on the faith of which the bonds were issued." These directors also asserted that the representatives of the individual stockholders were "openly avowing that when the funds furnished by the state shall have been wholly exhausted [they] will abandon the road, and leave the state to bear the loss."³⁹ The other West Tennessee turnpikes were also abandoned without any permanent construction work having been accomplished, and the investment of the state and the individual stockholders was therefore a total loss.⁴⁰

With regard to those turnpikes which actually had been constructed, the committee admitted that it was unable to obtain any reliable data as to the actual cost of construction, since the method of letting the roads to contractors was calculated to preclude any real competition in bidding, the incorporators in most instances having also become the contractors. Even if such information had been ascertainable, it would have been of little use, because the state Supreme Court had decided that the participation of the state directors in the letting of contracts had removed any chance of recovery unless actual collusion could be

³⁹ Proceedings of the President and Directors for the Big Hatchie Turnpike and Bridge Company, April 23, 1842 (MS. in Tipton County Courthouse, Covington, Tennessee. The writer is indebted to Mr. J. A. Sharp, Knoxville, Tennessee, for the use of his notes on this manuscript).

⁴⁰ Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, *Tennessee House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, *passim*; Report of Secretary of State as Internal Improvement Commissioner, *ibid.*, 1859-1860, appendix, 279-86.

proved, which was naturally impossible.⁴¹ The committee was of the opinion that where the reported cost had been in the neighborhood of five or six thousand dollars per mile, which was the case in all but one or two instances, it had been the purpose of the stockholders to construct the roads entirely at the expense of the state. The serious decline in the price of the state bonds due to the economic depression, however, had frequently upset their calculations and it had been necessary to supplement the proceeds from the state bonds by recourse to borrowing. The general practice was then to use all the revenue from tolls in the liquidation of these debts before declaring any dividends. The individual stockholders, having little or nothing invested, did not expect any profits on their own stock and depriving the state of its rightful dividends was of small concern to them.⁴²

The commissioners succeeded in making settlements with those turnpike companies by which it was recognized that the state stock was not bound by any expenditures above the total capitalization of the company, and the companies involved agreed to make up any deficits in dividends on the state stock resulting from these expenditures. In return for this concession the state agreed to issue bonds in payment of the amounts still due on the state subscriptions whenever the records showed *bona fide* payments on the individual stock in excess of the amount of bonds received. These additional issues brought the total investment of the state in turnpike stock to \$1,245,356.66 $\frac{2}{3}$. At the same time the secretary of state was made internal improvement commissioner and directed to visit the internal improvement companies at least once a year and examine their books, and to collect semiannually the dividends due on the state stock. He was authorized to make, with the approval of the board of internal improvement, further compromises and settlements with the companies, where necessary; and he was to report to this board any attempts to evade the requirements of the law.⁴³

⁴¹ *State v. Jefferson Turnpike Co.*, 3 Humphreys (1842), 305. This suit had been filed by the attorney general in accordance with the repeal act of 1840.

⁴² Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, *Tennessee House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 49-51.

⁴³ *Tennessee Acts*, 1845-1846, pp. 61-66; Comptroller's Report, *Tennessee Senate Journal*, 1847-1848, appendix, 182-83.

These arrangements were made with the expectation that they would result in a substantial increase in the amount of dividends paid on the state stock in turnpike companies. Furthermore, it was this hope for some profit to the state from its internal improvement investment which assisted materially in forestalling any movement in favor of a repudiation of the state debt. At the time of the repudiations and defaults in Mississippi and other states in 1841, the Bank of Tennessee was having no difficulty in meeting the obligation placed upon it by the act of 1838 of paying semiannually the interest on the state bonds. Consequently, it was comparatively easy for the Tennessee general assembly to denounce vigorously the policy of repudiation in a joint resolution passed with unanimity on February 2, 1842, declaring that "a prompt payment and fulfilment of all her debts, obligations and engagements, created in good faith, is a paramount duty, which cannot be disregarded or set aside consistently with the honor of the citizens of the State."⁴⁴

Looking to the future, it was very evident that the complete failure of some of the undertakings in which the state had been interested and the profitless nature of others would leave unprovided for the liquidation of the internal improvement bonds at maturity. It was with considerable gratification, therefore, that the Whig governor, James C. Jones, was able to refer in his message of October, 1841, to the act providing for the distribution of the proceeds of public land sales passed by Congress in September, 1841, as a way out of the difficulty.⁴⁵ When this law became inoperative as a result of the increase in the tariff in 1842, the Whig party turned its attention to an alternative proposition brought forward by Meredith P. Gentry of Tennessee in connection with the tariff bill of 1842 and revived by W. Cost Johnson of Maryland during the next session of Congress. This proposal, in its completed form, provided for the issuance of \$200,000,000 of United States bonds, with the public lands as security, for the purpose of assuming the debts of the states.⁴⁶ In Tennessee the plan received very

⁴⁴ Tennessee *Acts*, 1841-1842, p. 241.

⁴⁵ Tennessee *House Journal*, 1841-1842, pp. 89-99.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 27 Cong., 2 Sess., appendix, 799-802 (July 11, 1842); *House Reports*, 27 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. IV, No. 296.

favorable comments from most of the Whig editors; but it was vigorously denounced in the Democratic press as unconstitutional, as unjust to the nonindebted states, and as certain to result in more onerous indirect taxation in the form of a further increase in the tariff.⁴⁷

The serious consideration given the proposal by the Tennessee Whigs was due in part to a serious decline in the price of Tennessee bonds until they were selling in July, 1842, at sixty-two and sixty-three cents on the dollar, and to a crisis in the financial affairs of the state government which appeared in 1843. In October of that year, the president of the Bank of Tennessee reported that a comparison of the profits of the institution with the annual liabilities revealed a deficiency in the means to meet those liabilities "for the present year." This deficit, which he estimated at \$88,193.14, was due not so much to any diminution of the profits of the bank as to the great increase in the amount of interest it was required to pay on the bonds of the state and to the failure to receive the expected aid in the form of dividends from the internal improvement companies.⁴⁸

With reference to this situation Governor Jones proposed several expedients, including, if absolutely necessary, an increase in taxation. "The only safe escape," he declared, "is the path of duty and honor. Let the credit and character of the State be maintained at every hazard—let us be honest if poverty be our only reward."⁴⁹ In the legislature, however, the House Committee on Ways and Means was unable to agree on any program, and a select committee on revenue was appointed and the whole question referred to it for consideration. Although a majority of the members of the House, as well as of the Senate, were Whigs, the Speaker appointed Elijah Boddie, one of the Democratic members, as chairman of this committee. Boddie refused to serve, and the Democrats charged the Whigs with endeavoring to evade responsibility on measures of revenue by appointing one of the minority as head of the committee which was expected to introduce and guide through

⁴⁷ *Nashville Union*, July 29, October 5, 1842; March 7, 16, 1843; *Nashville Whig*, August 2, 1842; February 7, 16, 1843.

⁴⁸ *Tennessee House Journal*, 1843-1844, appendix, 3-6.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1843-1844, pp. 12-28.

the House a bill which would subject the people to an increase in taxation. They declared that the Whigs had worked a similar scheme in 1837-1838 when, although having a majority in both houses, they had maneuvered Nicholson into a position as chief sponsor of Martin's bank and improvement bill, which was the source of all the financial difficulties of the state. The Whigs sarcastically replied that the Democrats had gloried in the fact that Nicholson was the "father of the measure" as long as it had remained popular with the people. Now, while "clouds of disapprobation and condemnation" were lowering over it, they desired to "protect him from the impending storm." Furthermore, the Whigs insisted that the position taken by the Democrats clearly indicated that it was the intention of the members of that party to "wash their hands of all responsibility" for the safekeeping of the honor and fair name of the state. It was the Democrats, they pointed out, who had carried through the repudiation movements in Mississippi and Pennsylvania.⁵⁰

Some time before this partisan wrangle had developed, one of the Democratic members of the House, Samuel Milligan, had introduced a resolution which called attention to the fact that the act of 1838 had provided a means of meeting just such a contingency as that which had now occurred. This was the section which made the private property of the individual stockholders of the internal improvement companies liable for any deficiency in the profits of the bank and the dividends on the state stock to meet the interest on the internal improvement bonds; and made it the duty of the governor to notify the companies whenever such a deficiency had occurred, and to require them to pay into the treasury their respective shares of the deficit under penalty of forfeiture of their stock. Milligan's resolution, which was now taken up and adopted,⁵¹ inquired of the governor whether he had given such notice to the internal improvement companies; and if not, why not. Governor Jones responded in a special message, stating that he had not notified the companies because the deficiency in the bank's profits was prospec-

⁵⁰ Nashville *Whig*, December 16, 19, 21, 23, 1843.

⁵¹ Tennessee *House Journal*, 1843-1844, pp. 347, 474.

tive rather than actual, and because he had preferred to submit the whole question to the general assembly. Furthermore, he doubted whether the state could with propriety enforce its lien upon the property of the individual stockholders in view of the fact that the bank had been put in operation with a capital of only about \$3,000,000 instead of \$5,000,000 as provided in the act of 1838. This, he believed, constituted a violation of the contract between the state and the internal improvement companies. He also pointed out that the state had purchased its stock with depreciated bonds which the companies were forced to accept at par.⁵²

Instead of considering further the Milligan proposal, the legislature turned its attention to measures which would be more immediately productive of revenue. The tax rate was increased and some types of property formerly exempt were subjected to taxation. At the same time, the investigation of internal improvement companies already described was authorized, in the hope that it would result in an increase in the dividends paid to the state. Any dividends received, however, were to be set aside as a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds at maturity instead of being made available for current interest payments. The comptroller was directed to issue treasury warrants to make up for any inability on the part of the Bank of Tennessee to pay the interest on bonds of the state; but, in spite of the increase in taxation, when such a deficiency occurred in December, 1845, the comptroller was unable to issue the warrants because to have done so would have reduced the funds in the treasury below the amount necessary for current expenses. Consequently, it was necessary for the bank to use a part of its capital funds to make up the deficiency.⁵³ The general assembly of 1845-1846 therefore decided to pay less attention to the payment of the internal improvement bonds at maturity and to make more adequate provision for the payment of the interest. Most of the dividends to be received from internal improvement companies, together with the reve-

⁵² *Ibid.*, 514-17.

⁵³ *Tennessee Acts*, 1843-1844, pp. 141, 239-40; Communication from the President of the Bank of Tennessee, December 29, 1845, *Tennessee House Journal*, 1845-1846, pp. 389-91.

nues from certain specified taxes, were set aside as a contingent fund for interest payment.⁵⁴

The legislature was encouraged in this continued effort to avoid any defaults in the payment of the interest on the state debt by the prophecy of the committee which had investigated the internal improvement companies that the settlements it had made with the turnpike companies would result in dividend payments approaching \$25,000 a year.⁵⁵ In making this estimate the committee was overoptimistic. Although ten or eleven turnpike companies paid dividends more or less regularly until 1861, the annual receipts averaged only a little more than \$15,000, and this proved woefully insufficient to meet the interest on the bonds issued in the aid of turnpike construction. For example, the deficit in 1853 was \$46,763 and in 1859, \$62,025. Only one turnpike was sufficiently profitable to meet the interest on its own bonds with any degree of regularity.⁵⁶

Among the causes of the poor showing on the part of the turnpike companies were the extravagant costs of construction, disadvantageous location of roads, and the failure of the legislature to protect the companies from the practice by which their customers evaded the payment of tolls by constructing short detours around toll gates. For some time after the beginning of the railroad era, the profits of the turnpike companies were increased as a result of the consequent stimulation of commerce and agriculture. But when more railroads were completed, many of the turnpikes were entirely superseded by the newer, more rapid method of transportation, and another serious decline in dividends resulted. The internal improvement commissioner recommended, therefore, that the state should dispose of its stock in the turnpike companies, commenting that it was unwise for a state to enter into any partnership

⁵⁴ Tennessee *Acts*, 1845-1846, p. 237. During the next session a special tax was levied to provide a sinking fund for the retirement of the state bonds. *Ibid.*, 1847-1848, pp. 253-59.

⁵⁵ Report of the Internal Improvement Committee, Tennessee *House Journal*, 1845-1846, appendix, 51.

⁵⁶ Reports of the Secretary of State as Internal Improvement Commissioner, Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1853-1854, appendix, 213-14; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1859-1860, appendix, 279-86.

with individual enterprise, especially when control, in effect, remained with the private interests.⁵⁷

In accordance with this suggestion the legislature provided for the sale of the state's interest in the turnpike corporations, but the beginning of the Civil War prevented the act from going into effect. Later, in 1873, another act was passed, as a result of which the state eventually realized approximately \$100,000 in depreciated bonds and coupons on its ill-fated investment of nearly \$1,250,000 in the stock of turnpike companies.⁵⁸ This brought to an end Tennessee's experience as a stockholder in internal improvement enterprises, since the railroad stock which it had acquired under the acts of 1836 and 1838 had already been disposed of. The state's interest in the LaGrange and Memphis Railroad had been relinquished to the Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company in 1852, and in 1866 the state's stock in the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad had been transferred to a group of East Tennessee turnpike companies.⁵⁹

Although no longer in possession of any stock acquired as a result of the state aid system of the 1830's, the state was still under obligation to pay off the bonds with which the stock had been acquired. In 1883, when Tennessee compromised with the bondholders on a fifty per cent basis the much larger debt incurred between 1850 and 1870 through loans to railroad—and a few turnpike—companies, the 1836-1838 debt was given separate consideration. It was refunded into new bonds at par value and is in process of being paid off in its entirety.⁶⁰

This separate consideration given the earlier internal improvement debt was due largely to the fact that none of it had been incurred during the Reconstruction period, when a majority of the citizens of the state were disfranchised. Of considerable influence, however, was the fact that the emphasis upon turnpike construction had assisted in keeping

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Tennessee *Acts*, 1845-1846, pp. 43-44; 1873, pp. 136-37; *The State Debt. Report of the Committee appointed to investigate it* (Nashville, 1879), 15. Bound as a part of Tennessee *House Journal*, 1879, appendix.

⁵⁹ Tennessee *Acts*, 1851-1852, p. 317; 1865-1866, pp. 268-69.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1883, pp. 76-84.

this debt relatively small and in making it, in comparison with some of the later railroad obligations, more productive of immediate benefits. This was particularly true of its influence upon the economic development of Nashville and Middle Tennessee. The turnpike phase was the most important aspect of Tennessee's internal improvement system of 1836-1838. Although of small economic importance, in comparison with the railroad system built during the decade of the 1850's, it aided the state in avoiding repudiation of the debt incurred as a result of the mania of the 1830's; it revealed most clearly the defects of a state partnership with private enterprise; and it provided a considerable part of the basis of material wealth upon which the success of later railroad undertakings was to depend.

Notes and Documents

A BELGIAN CONSUL ON CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH IN 1860 AND 1862

Translated and edited by PAUL EVANS AND THOMAS P. GOVAN

Laurent Marcellin Joseph de Give was born at Dinant, Belgium, on January 31, 1828, and died in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 17, 1910. He attended Le Petit Séminaire de Floriffe, the College of Louvain, and the University of Liege, and held the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy, and Doctor of Laws. He began the practice of law at Namur, but after a few years was forced to leave Belgium because of his health. He decided to come to the United States and arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, in March, 1860.

During the years 1858-1861 an attempt was made to establish permanent and direct trade relations between Georgia and Belgium. In America the movement was conducted by the Planters Convention of Georgia; in Belgium by the *Compagnie Belge-Américaine*. For various reasons, including the outbreak of the Civil War, the attempt did not succeed. The first—and last—effort of the Belgian-American Company was limited to an exhibition of Belgian products at the Macon fair in December, 1860.

De Give had been appointed Belgian consul at Atlanta, and, as the government at Brussels had high hopes for the eventual expansion of its trade with the Southern United States, it requested him to attend the fair and to report on the prospects of extending Belgian commerce in the South. He remained in Atlanta after the opening of the War, as he had invested his funds in real estate, cotton, and tobacco there. But he was forced to return to Belgium in 1862 because of the illness of Mrs.

de Give following the death of three of their children in five months.

The next year, 1863, De Give returned to Atlanta where he remained until he was forced to leave when Sherman began to shell the city on July 22, 1864. He then went to Augusta to stay with friends until the end of hostilities. After the war he made his home in Atlanta until his death, and, though never naturalized, was among the most prominent business and commercial leaders of the city. He is particularly remembered as the owner and manager of De Give's Opera House and the Grand Opera House where many of the famous theatrical artists of the nineteenth century appeared. He continued to act as Belgian consul until his death, and was rewarded for his services to his government by appointments as *Chevalier de l'Ordre Léopold* and *Officier de l'Ordre Léopold*; and he was also awarded the *Médaille de l'Ordre de Mérite Civil*.

The first of the following reports by De Give, dated January 20, 1861, and mailed February 12, appeared to the Minister of Foreign Affairs sufficiently important to warrant publication. It was printed in a small edition as a pamphlet of forty pages entitled: *Exposition de Macon (Géorgie). Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères* (Brussels, 1861). Early in April the Minister distributed it among the chambers of commerce with the request for caution in its publicity. His wishes were but too well observed; the pamphlet has become extremely rare. One copy of it is to be found in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, and another appears among the archives of the various chambers of commerce in the *Archives Générales du Royaume*. The original report itself, however, has disappeared from the archives of the Belgian foreign office.

The second report was compiled just after De Give's return to Belgium and contains valuable information on the economic conditions in the South during the second year of the war. It is to be noted that De Give's observations of the Southern scene are those of a foreigner who had been in the country only a short time. "*En Mars 1860 je suis arrivé en Géorgie ne connaissant pas un mot d'Anglais et n'ayant jamais fait le commerce,*" he had written the Minister in his covering letter to the

first report. He was, however, an intelligent, conscientious observer, a man apparently of few prejudices with a large capacity for understanding and sympathy.¹

LAURENT DE GIVE TO THE BELGIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS²

Atlanta, Georgia, January 20, 1861.

The exposition of Belgian goods at Macon should have opened the 3rd of December, 1860. Because of delay in the arrival of the ship *Henry*, which reached Savannah only on the 30th of November, the opening was postponed to the first of the following week, Monday the 10th. Our merchants must realize that the lack of complete success in this first attempt was the result of abnormal circumstances, not of anything impractical in the scheme itself.

The really decisive factor is the political crisis which is paralyzing all trade and industry at present, both North and South. To appreciate fully the effects of this crisis one need only recall the situation on the morrow of the French revolution of 1848. Here now, as in France and Belgium then, capital has stopped circulating; credit has disappeared; all undertakings have been suspended; cotton, which is normally a gold mine for the country, finds few or no buyers; everyone is anxiously awaiting developments, some fearing a civil war, others a revolt of the slaves or at least an attempt to start such a revolt. In such circumstances an exposition of goods intended for sale, not merely for advertisement, could more easily arouse the lively curiosity and sympathy of the public than assure the immediate disposal of the merchandise exhibited. We had foreseen this and our fears were too well justified, for, when the fair closed, only a few of our products had been sold.

Finally it should be noted that the bad crops this year have aggravated the other circumstances. Farm crops suffered greatly from the torrid heat and the drought of the summer. All food stuffs are two thirds dearer than at the same time last year. The weather prevented the proper development of the cotton crop.

The consequent deficit was partly made up by a larger acreage planted to cotton, but this in turn involved a greater outlay for labor and other expenses.

Such are the reasons, Monsieur le Ministre, for the slight results of this first effort. When I speak of results, kindly note that I mean to apply the term only to the immediate financial returns of the undertaking. It would be inexact to give the word a more extensive application. The moral effect of our exhibition

¹ Biographical information is based on data furnished by Mr. Henri Léon de Give of Atlanta, Georgia, and on the obituary notice of Laurent de Give in the *Atlanta Constitution*, March 18, 1910.

² *Exposition de Macon (Géorgie). Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères* (Brussels, 1861), Archives Générales du Royaume (Brussels), Chambres de Commerce 491 (Chemise, Liege).

was excellent. Southern merchants, the public generally, indeed, came in crowds to Macon. They are now aware of the low prices at which Belgium can supply goods which heretofore they have bought from the North, from England, France, or Germany. Belgium now is well known and so are the goods which she can supply. As soon as times become better, she can count on orders from here and the sure sale of cargoes carefully chosen to meet Southern needs.

Quite aside from their reputation of supplying goods of high quality at low prices, Belgians will now have a powerful ally in the good-will and gratitude of the Southern people. The Americans have been flattered and touched by our merchants' efforts to establish direct trade relations; they welcomed the Belgian products with enthusiasm.

Abundant proof of this cordial sentiment and of the importance which Georgia attaches to trade relations with us—the other states think the same—appears in the significant action of the head of the state and of the legislative bodies. By unanimous vote these two assemblies, led by the governor, made an official visit to the exposition. They arrived by special train Tuesday, the 11th of December, and left only the next day after seeing and examining everything and expressing their satisfaction with the results of their investigations.

Two other facts of a more positive nature are to be noted. The Georgia legislature has passed two laws unanimously: one guaranteeing a minimum of 5% interest on the Belgian-American's capital of ten million francs; the other offering a subsidy of 520,000 francs (\$100,000) to a company which shall establish a steamship line to Savannah. Although Antwerp is not mentioned in the law, I have reliable information that the legislators had our commercial capital particularly in mind.

These facts are of a nature to encourage Belgian traders. The possession of the trust and confidence of the people with whom one wishes to establish relations, the assurance of a warm welcome from them, and of their desire to promote such relations, these are real guarantees of success. Thus, whatever happens, one can forecast now that with a little effort America will prove an excellent market for Belgian goods. This will be true whatever happens, whether harmony is re-established and the Union is maintained, or whether a schism occurs and a new confederation is formed at the South among the fifteen slave states.³

In all these respects no country at present is easier of access, none affords as much security or as many resources as the South of the United States. This country is immense; it can feed a hundred million people. It is already very rich, but its present wealth can give no idea of its future riches. Its climate is

³ De Give then devoted several pages to an exhortation of his fellow countrymen to imitate the British commercial activity, to build up an efficient export organization. He advised how this could be done and in what regions such an effort was most likely to succeed.

admirable and perfectly healthy. One can always avoid yellow fever which visits the coasts in summer by moving out during this season or by settling in the charming cities of the interior.

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The Belgians know quite too little about America. Many people, and those not the least enlightened, remember too much from Châteaubriand and from Cooper's novels. Nothing in reality is less wild and less poetic than the New World. Nowhere else has the material side of civilization reached such a high level; nowhere else is the love of comfort, of luxury, carried so far. Women's dress particularly amazes the European visitor. The absolute equality between classes has caused all distinction in dress to disappear; the high level of wages permits the workingman's wife a luxury in clothing which would please our middle-class women at home. Need I add that everything which is coarse, primitive, if I may use the expression, will fail to find a market here unless it can be used for the negroes? Consequently the Americans and the English always pay particular attention to the appearance, the outward aspect of their manufactures. I have even noticed that for the most part solidity is entirely sacrificed to elegance and brilliance, and that the consumer is less concerned with the durability of this purchase than with the effect which it will produce on the eye. There is however one remarkable exception: it concerns tools and instruments. Nearly all these are manufactured in America and all combine solidity with beauty of form and finish. Moreover all are designed—and continually improved—to permit the worker to accomplish with the least possible effort the maximum amount of work in a given space of time. This different attitude when it comes to tools is of course due to the scarcity and the high cost of labor. These tools are so perfectly designed, so easily handled, that they produce an immediate economy in a day's work and over a period of time a really important saving. So the Americans prefer to pay two or three times as much for their tools rather than to use ours. In a week the saving in labor more than makes up the difference in price. The Belgian manufacturer and the importer must conform to these tastes and to these demands.

In products other than tools he must provide elegance and brilliance. Should he in consequence neglect durability? As far as possible, no. Whatever their attention to the outward appearance of their purchases, people here are able to appreciate other qualities. As for tools and instruments one must endeavor to give them all three qualities which I have indicated. So far, if I am not mistaken, our exportation of such products is *nil*. But it can become considerable. I am sure that I am understating the facts in saying that the South uses every year more than ten million francs worth of tools for cabinet making, carpentry, gardening, agriculture, etc. Nor have I included in the calculation big instruments like plows, cultivators, etc. Now then, it is certain that all these articles can be made in Belgium cheaper than in America or in England. But let it be remem-

bered that they must conform to the American models. To this end those who are interested can procure through the consular agents a collection of samples. Such a collection will not be costly; in any case it will have an intrinsic value. Belgium itself may well profit from the ingenious improvements which necessity has inspired here.

Another point needs particular attention: this is the commercial aptitude of the American people. It is marvelous. The American—one can say it without fear of contradiction—is the outstanding merchant of the world; he has a veritable genius for trade. Let it be said once for all: we have to do here with people who are perfectly aware of the value of anything and everything.

I cannot warn our merchants too often of the old European idea that all Americans are *des oncles d'Amérique*, that it rains millions here, that every transaction with this country should naturally pay enormous profits. Merchants have written me that they felt that they should raise their prices by ten, twenty, and even thirty per cent., when shipping to America. For the Macon fair some goods were invoiced at the Belgian retail price. Others went even further, hoping to obtain seventy-five per cent. above the European retail prices. Only when they found the buyers fleeing before such pretensions did they reduce their prices to a reasonable though remunerative level. Such grave mistakes must be avoided. One must know perfectly the conditions of the market to be supplied and be sure to keep the prices below the level of similar goods from America, England, France, and Germany. Unhappily our merchants at the time of the Macon fair were ignorant of the situation.

As a general rule we should fix prices at the lowest possible limit. Our object is to make our products known, to demonstrate the advantages in adopting them, to change the buying habits of the people here, in a word to capture the market by ousting those who possess it at present. It is a question also of inspiring confidence by prices as reasonable and as fixed as possible. If you frighten prospective customers by excessive prices on some products, you soon discredit all the others.

From all these points of view, it is necessary to sell at low prices, at remunerative prices nevertheless. It is a well accepted economic law today that a lowering of prices increases consumption in a much greater proportion. The manufacturer is thus the first to feel the good effects of his moderation. Next the nation obtains still greater advantages. If greater consumption permits a hundred per cent. increase in production, twice the labor is required, shared and paid among all the workers and intermediaries through whose hands the raw material must pass before it reaches the consumer in finished form. Now to double the amount of work and wages for a nation is truly to become its benefactor; such a prospect can leave no true Belgian indifferent.

Business in the South is done on both a credit and a cash basis. Since the financial crisis of 1857 cash transactions have made great progress. Nevertheless

most business is done on three and six months credit. With moderate prices one can always sell for cash. This is one more reason for us to maintain our low prices. To do business on credit one must know his customers perfectly. I beg the Belgian merchants never to forget this advice. If they wish to risk sales on credit, they should increase their prices to cover possible losses. Several of the wholesale merchants here tell me that this is their practice.⁴

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LAURENT DE GIVE TO THE BELGIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS⁵

Liege, November 15, 1862.

I have the honor to send you some details on the production of cotton in the Confederate States of America,⁶ which, however incomplete, may not be without interest in the present circumstances.

The cotton crop of 1861 amounted to 3,500,000 bales: it was below that of a good year which is generally estimated at 4,000,000 bales. The crop of 1860 reached the latter figure. The crop for 1861 was deficient not only in quantity but also in quality. Thus in Georgia no *fair middling* was to be found; even *good middling* was not to be had; in cotton contracts people were satisfied to stipulate *strict middling* as the best.

The quality of the crop depends on the temperature at the time of ripening. The second half of the year 1861 was very wet throughout the South, and it is to this circumstance that one must attribute the inferior quality. The same cause seems to have produced the same effect in the other cotton states.

The crop for 1861 was harvested in the midst of war. The blockade prevented its exportation, at least on a large scale. Ordinarily the cotton is sent to the great seaboard centers such as New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston. This year that was quite impossible. Large stocks of cotton in those cities would have been too much of a temptation to the North. Moreover the government had just decided that not a bale should leave the country. It hoped in this manner to inflict a grave injury on the North, whose annual consumption is at least a million bales. The cotton consequently remained in the interior. Part of it was not even baled, either because in some places it was hoped to burn it more quickly at the approach of the enemy, or because in others there was a lack of baling material which before the war came from Kentucky and the North. Given the size of the crop, the amount sent to the coastal towns was of little importance.

⁴ After praising the Belgian-American Company for its courageous enterprise, De Give closed his pamphlet with a detailed consideration of the various types of goods likely to find a market in the Southern states.

⁵ *Archives des Affaires Etrangères* (Brussels), No. 4098.

⁶ De Give never used the expression "Confederate States"; rather "*les Etats séparés de l'Amerique du Nord*," or simply "*les Etats séparés*." He spoke, however, of the "*Gouvernement du Sud*."

Such a state of things had a powerful effect on prices. There was an almost total lack of sales. Prices fluctuated from day to day, and in March and April, 1862, cotton was being offered at five to seven cents a pound, according to quality. Even this was in paper money with a value forty per cent. less than gold. In Texas it could be bought even cheaper.

During this interval some cotton left the country, but not enough to affect prices. With the government's consent and on the condition, so it is said, of importing in exchange munitions, arms, and military clothing, many ships loaded the precious material and ran the blockade. At the beginning of the year many of them succeeded in their enterprise; they were generally, however, of small tonnage. In the course of the summer the blockade became more effective and consequently its evasion became more difficult. Thereafter fewer tried it. I should note that eventually the government abandoned its attempt to hinder cotton exports; indeed it finally endeavored to encourage them.

With all outlets closed for a lapse of time whose duration no one could foresee but which promised to be very long; with the planters hard pressed for money and forced to sell at any price, it was reasonable to believe that prices would continue downward, that they would reach at least the minimum of 1812: three cents a pound. The contrary happened. In less than a month a continuous rise in prices carried cotton from seven cents to fourteen cents a pound at the beginning of June, and to eighteen, nineteen, and twenty cents, according to locality, in July. The upward movement appeared first in Georgia. It was slower in the other states. Prices in Texas remained backward.

The raising of the blockade would not have brought about greater activity in the cotton trade than that which occurred in this short space of time. There was a rush for cotton and it soon passed almost entirely from the hands of the planters to those of the speculators. There was, however, no possible use to be made of it. One naturally wonders what could have been the cause of such an abnormal occurrence. I shall take the liberty of mentioning briefly the causes to which I attribute this sudden craze. I believe they are the abundance of paper money issued by the government and the uncertainty of its future value.

Never at any period of its existence has the South seen its internal trade so active and so brilliant as since January 1st, 1862. As everyone knows, there were no manufactures in the South; it imported from the North all that it needed; the Northerners produced the goods themselves or got them from Europe. Anticipating events Southern merchants had bought at the North enormous quantities of merchandise. To judge of the amount one need only cite the figures which the sellers are still claiming as due on these sales: \$200,000,000.

As soon as all hope was lost of seeing the blockade raised, either through its abandonment by the federal forces or through the intervention of Europe, and as soon as it was certain that nothing more could be received from abroad, or at least not enough to meet the demand, everyone began speculating on foreign

products. Nothing could stop these speculators, and before long goods in general demand rose to prices varying from double to ten times the previous level. The profits of their successive owners were immense; the majority of merchants became rich in a few months.

The high price of all manufactured goods and the prospect that they would go still higher induced people in general to utilize whatever knowledge they possessed of industrial methods. The Europeans and those who had been employed in Northern factories founded plants of all sorts, some on a modest scale, others on a larger one. These impromptu manufacturers were not slow in making large profits, all the larger since the lack of foreign competition permitted them to sell at exorbitant prices.

Finally army contractors of a hundred different kinds in the South had made and were continuing to make enormous profits.

Fed from these three sources an enormous mass of capital accumulated in a certain stratum of the population. The capital obviously needed to be invested, for it consisted almost entirely of paper money which the government was issuing to meet its military expenses.

From the beginning it was foreseen that the amount of this paper money might reach huge proportions, so huge that it might sometime have to be repudiated. This was enough to stimulate the demand for bank bills which in consequence were hoarded as much as possible. The banks themselves gradually withdrew their paper. As a result the circulating medium was soon composed almost entirely of government notes. People who claim to be well-informed estimate the amount of this paper now in circulation at \$300,000,000 partly in the form of treasury bills or of simple notes, partly in the form of loan coupons. I have no way of verifying this assertion.

This abundance of paper money and the growing doubts of an early peace combined to increase the popular distrust of the government emissions. Consequently holders of this paper sought some secure investment for it. Unable to secure specie which was all buried in the vaults of the banks, some bought real estate, the price of which has increased continuously during the last year; others thought of cotton, whose value would be greatly increased by a peace which, if improbable, is always possible. As we have seen, prices rose rapidly to double their former level and even higher; the cotton passed from the hands of the planters to those of the speculators where it all is today. Nevertheless this rage for cotton had been so great as to make a reaction inevitable even if temporary. Thus at the end of August and in September prices in Georgia declined slightly; they stood at fourteen to sixteen cents, without likelihood, however, of a greater decline.

The crop of 1862, the size of which one had been able to estimate for some time, was not calculated to produce a fall in prices. Eager to furnish their country the foodstuffs which could no longer be procured from the North-West, the

Southern planters, as early as last winter, had unanimously decided to plant grain instead of cotton. The Texans alone, too far away to send their grain to the Eastern states and producing more than they needed themselves, devoted their usual acreage to cotton. The 1862 crop was in consequence much below that of other years. Georgia plants annually over 700,000 acres to cotton; this year she has only 70,000 acres, i.e., a tenth. According to all the evidence in the newspapers that proportion is the maximum in the other states. Only Texas has increased its normal production; it amounts, they say, to at least 400,000 bales.

On the basis of these figures the entire Southern cotton crop for 1862 can be estimated at one eighth to one seventh of that of a good year. Combined with that of 1861 it will in reality amount to but little more than one good crop, i.e., 4,000,000 to 4,200,000 bales for two years. Moreover we must not neglect to deduct what has been destroyed by fire. During the invasion of the coasts of the Carolinas, of Georgia, of Alabama, of Mississippi, of Louisiana, of Tennessee, and at the capture of Beaufort, New Orleans, and Memphis, the planters, the owners, and at times the military authorities burned considerable quantities of cotton about to fall into the hands of the enemy or located within reach of a sudden attack.

It would be impossible to state accurately the quantity thus destroyed. Some estimates fix it as high as 500,000 bales; that seems to me exaggerated. In any case one will be *on the right side of the truth* in estimating all that remains of the two crops of 1861 and 1862 at 4,000,000 bales in round numbers. Without trying to forecast the future, here then is as accurate a balance as can be struck for the American cotton situation today: one entire crop to provide for the needs of two years! I leave it to the economists to draw whatever conclusions their science dictates. There is one, however, which will occur to everybody: cotton prices will continue very high for several years even should the war stop to-morrow.

In spite of the war and the blockade which encircles the South, Europe now and then receives some American cotton and will probably continue to receive some. A few ships run the blockade. The rest reaches us from Texas by way of Mexico. English traders, always skillful and adventurous, are directing a commercial movement which brings cotton from the most distant sections of Texas toward the Mexican border, carts it to the banks of the Rio Grande, a neutral river which separates Texas from Mexico, and then takes it toward the Gulf where it is loaded for Europe. Here are some data given me by a trader engaged in this business.

This trade has been flourishing for several months. The cotton is bought at six to nine cents a pound according to locality; it is brought by ox-teams to the river which is crossed with entire safety. Once unloaded on the right bank of the Rio Grande del Norte the commodity is perfectly secure. It is then loaded on small Mexican boats and at the mouth of the river transshipped to vessels

which are always on hand to receive their precious cargo. Towards the end of summer this trade had already reached large proportions and was paying enormous profits. Bought at six to nine cents a pound, cotton delivered on board costs only eighteen to twenty cents a pound. If one considers that it is bought with paper money, and that at the end of September sterling at Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, everywhere in the South in fact, commanded a premium of 120 to 130 per cent., i.e., \$100 in gold were worth \$220 to \$230 in paper, one easily appreciates the enormous profits which these operations afford. In reality a pound of cotton delivered on board costs less than eight cents in specie, i.e., less than forty centimes of our money.

It would be imprudent to prophesy a continuation of such large profits: such lucrative speculations will arouse keen competition. But everything leads one to believe that the trade will continue to increase as long as the war lasts. Moreover it is by this same route that the South and its government receive many indispensable articles of small bulk. The ships which take on cotton almost always bring such merchandise, particularly cloth, medicine, etc.

Traders engaged in this business have sure sales for their incoming goods in the silver regions of Northern Mexico and in the vast American territory of Arizona at the West, or else in Texas and the rich cotton states at the East. I am told that European goods, commonly used in Northern Mexico and Arizona, bring the importers a net profit of thirty per cent. Payment when desired is made in silver ingots with an exchange premium of ten to fifteen per cent. Transfer of these ingots to Europe costs only two per cent., thus allowing a further profit of at least eight per cent. to be added to the thirty per cent. made from the sale of goods.

When European goods, sent eastward from the Rio Grande reach the central cotton states, they are beyond price: prices, according to the articles, vary from two to ten times their previous levels, but in paper money. Among the highest priced goods one may mention quinine, opium, morphine, phosphorus, drugs in general, blankets and other woolen goods including flannels, cotton cloth and stockings, shoes, silk and cotton thread, combs, buttons, notions, cartridges, revolvers. As for the paper money, the best thing to do with it is to buy cotton and that is what the merchants do.

Some have added to this business a further operation which is bound to be widely imitated. According to my informant, European firms send their agents to the South supplied with credits on good London banks. They operate roughly as follows, supposing that they have arrived in September. They buy cotton, either in Texas at eight cents, or in the eastern states at fourteen to sixteen cents. They discount their bills on Europe at 220 or 230 per cent., which will give them ordinarily 220 or 230 paper dollars in exchange for 100 in gold. They invest 100 paper dollars in undeveloped urban property, in a growing city like Mobile for example; they put the remaining 120 or 130 dollars into cotton. The

cotton is then stored until the end of the war at the price of twenty-five cents paper per month for each bale of 500 pounds; insurance costs half of one per cent. for six months. A few years after the war this city property, according to all expectations, will be worth at least as many dollars in gold as it cost in paper dollars. The cotton, bought with the profits of the exchange transaction, must, of course, run the risk of future developments; it cannot lose all its value, indeed it may appreciate greatly. If the business is carried on in Texas, where cotton is already being shipped to Europe, profits are more immediate and less risky. It is even to be noted that trade by this route runs no real risk at all. Cotton, once transferred to Mexican territory, is under the protection of a foreign state. As long as it is on land in American territory, it is protected by international law, to which the Southern government, after some hesitation, has voluntarily submitted. . . . As to the Northern government, it is powerless to intercept communications on a frontier of several hundred miles.

Tobacco raising in Virginia during 1862 was affected by the same circumstances: like cotton, the crop hardly existed. It is estimated at not over a fifteenth of an average crop. Indeed during the autumn when I went through the region formerly planted to tobacco, I looked in vain for those immense fields of green which one used to see everywhere: the long, yellow corn stalks had crowded out the broad green tobacco leaves. The South itself is the first to suffer from this shortage. Tobacco like everything else has got into the hands of the speculators; today you must pay for the better brands a dollar and twenty-five cents instead of thirty-five cents, the former price. Cigars are out of reach. To the high price of the leaf tobacco must be added the exorbitant wages of the workers: eighteen dollars a thousand.

II

I have had occasion in the course of this report to speak of the industrial movement which has developed in the South under the present circumstances. This movement merits serious attention.

Necessity alone, one can easily understand, has brought into existence establishments of a hundred different sorts already built or now building. Hence it is to be expected that they will disappear with the emergency. Yet the people here do not think so. They wish, so they say, to free themselves forever from the North, industrially as well as politically. And they believe in the permanence, the vitality, of the industrial system which they are now building so courageously. There is no doubt that they are deluding themselves. Indeed, if this were not so, they would be mistaken in the results which they expect from their action; they would cease in fact to be tributary, not to the North, but to Europe, which, if they succeed in maintaining themselves as a nation, is destined to exclude the North from this immense market. But never, as long as slavery exists, can they compete with us in labor costs, nor, as a consequence, in the cost

of production, and, unless they return to the system of protective tariffs, which they dislike so much at present, they will become and remain tributary to Europe.

The continuation of the war may nevertheless change the face of things. If it is true that the nation has gone on record for free trade and that Congress has consecrated this great principle, it is also true that there exists a protectionist party, and that the continuation of the blockade may reinforce it, and furnish it with powerful arguments. In view of this eventuality, one should give some attention to this industrial movement. The South possesses within its boundaries an abundance of raw materials needed for big industry, coal and all sorts of other minerals. It can indeed satisfy its own needs; the only thing lacking is cheap labor. Circumstances are forcing it to establish factories of all sorts at great expense. These establishments require large capital; many of them can be built only by stock companies. Thus little by little there are being created new interests, ever more numerous. Is it not possible that some day these interests will be numerous and powerful enough to demand, indeed to exact, tariff protection? Will it not be mere justice to protect these industries which, at great risk and expense, will have rendered immense service to the nation by providing it with the means of prosecuting the present war? Such a call for justice will find ample support in political arguments. Why, it will be asked, should such legitimate interests be sacrificed for the benefit of Europe, which did not aid us at all? (They long counted on an intervention in their favor.) Moreover, a repetition of the present circumstances, another blockade, can be imagined; there will be plenty of politicians to warn the people of their danger, if then, as now, they should be without manufactures, hence without resources. This argument will inevitably help the protectionists. Moreover, they will find an ally in the sugar planters of Louisiana, who cannot compete even on their own internal market with the producers in the West Indies, unless protected by a duty of one to two cents a pound. This then for Europeans is the serious side of the industrial movement of which the South is today the theater. It is evident that it may bring back the tariffs so fortunately abolished by the Confederate government, and exclude Europe from this market as the new Morrill tariff excludes it at the North.

Nevertheless it would be quite too alarmist to suppose this result inevitable. The free trade party is still far the stronger. It comprises all the planters (except the sugar producers) and all the merchants, and the latter will fight vigorously for their interests unless some powerful political motive should interfere.⁷

⁷ The rest of his long report De Give devoted to the problem of foreigners and military service in the Confederacy, and to their situation in Georgia, whose law withheld from them the right to resell, to mortgage, or to transmit by will or otherwise any real estate. By an appeal to the Secretary of War at Richmond, De Give had saved from the hands of the conscription officer two young Belgians, who had come to Atlanta with the intention of returning eventually to Belgium. The more "fanatic" members of Southern society, he

reported, considered that foreigners who came to their country "to make money and enjoy the benefits of their admirable institutions" should be required to defend the country when need be. Georgia had abolished the *droit d'aubaine* only for Frenchmen. De Give was now assured that, thanks to his efforts, the legislature at its next session would abolish it for Belgians. He hoped that this measure, which would extend to all Belgians the rights already granted to the members of the Belgian-American Company, would encourage more of them to settle in Georgia to build up Belgian trade there.

Book Reviews

Bulwark of the Republic: A Biography of the Constitution. By Burton J. Hendrick. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937. Pp. xxviii, 467. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

This book is intended to be a biographical study in a double sense: "It is the story of the instrument [the Constitution] itself, its formation, the causes that brought it to life, its struggles for survival, its triumphs and failures. It is again a survey of the men most identified with its progress" (p. 7).

With themes so broad, the author was compelled to limit his narrative sharply in the matter of details and, apparently, to hold in mind constantly that his book was being written for the intelligent reading public and not for American historians. There is but little if anything in the book that will repay members of the latter group for the time required to read its pages.

It probably will be many a day before citizens—even those who have something more than a passing interest in American history—will understand that the Constitution of 1787 was not, basically, a product of its own decade or even of its generation. In the reviewer's judgment, Mr. Hendrick's book would have been much more serviceable had it been prefaced by an analysis of the constitutional principles sifted and refined by Americans during their more than a century and a half of colonial experience within the British Empire. Moreover, an examination of the state constitutions formed during the Revolutionary period and of the proceedings in the Continental and Confederation congresses would have shown that the great instrument was not a product of the moment, but a combination of principles, ideas, and concepts for the most part already well defined. Statements to the effect that the new government of 1789 was constructed from "nothing," and that "Never before had a nation sprung full-grown into existence" (p. 103), will serve only to perpetuate the historically inaccurate "sudden inspiration" theory of the Federal government's formation.

Books treating the constitutional history of the United States rarely are objective. Mr. Hendrick's book is no exception. In his discussion of the period from 1787 to 1865 (and fully three fourths of the book is devoted to these years), the heroes are Washington, Madison (later turned apostate!), Hamilton, Marshall, Webster, and Lincoln, and the marplots are Jefferson, John Taylor of Caroline, Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, Stephen A. Douglas, and Roger B. Taney. Like James Ford Rhodes, Mr. Hendrick sees a direct connection between the philosophies of Jefferson, Calhoun, and Davis, and between these philosophies and the Civil War. There is a tendency on the author's part to ridicule Calhoun's

proposal for protecting minority rights, and a failure to recognize that the South Carolinian was wrestling with one of the fundamental problems in our constitutional system. Moreover, it appears to the reviewer that too much is made of Calhoun's disbelief in the right of the numerical majority to govern, in view of the fact that the Federal Constitution itself was designed so as to permit the election of a president and the adoption or defeat of an amendment by a numerical minority of the qualified voters in the country at large.

As for Douglas, the researches of Lynch, Hodder, and Milton go for naught; Mr. Hendrick thinks that the "little giant" was always the self-seeking politician, and thus he finds himself in agreement with an interpretation advanced by a certain school of historians a half century ago. On the slavery question, the author's views seem to be substantially the same as those of Rhodes.

In his treatment of constitutional developments since 1865, Mr. Hendrick inclines decidedly toward the liberal school of thought. He is convinced that judges as a rule decide cases in accordance with their economic and social philosophy, and he feels that in the truest sense all presidents have "packed" the courts. It is his belief that Grant did this deliberately to secure a certain kind of decision in the Greenback Cases.

A number of statements in the book impressed the reviewer as being of questionable accuracy: Was the South in 1783 "wholly agricultural," and the North "largely commercial and urban" (p. 28)? Was the Constitution "the joint production of all Americans" (p. 107)? Was the nation "full of foreigners" when the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed (p. 137)? Does Madison's Journal show that members of the Convention "entertained no doubts" as to the right of the Supreme Court to hold measures of Congress void (p. 263)? Did the Constitution in William Lloyd Garrison's day have anything to say about "involuntary servitude" (p. 273)? Did Jackson's administration represent "an almost incessant warfare on property" (p. 309)? Does Franklin D. Roosevelt desire the "utter annihilation of state lines" (p. 72)? Has the party founded by Jefferson centralized activities "even to the details of personal life" (p. 114)?

Mr. Hendrick is at his best in his short biographical sketches of important figures, those of Madison, Hamilton, Sherman, Pickering, Webster, Chase, Miller, Harlan, and Holmes being especially well done. Unrestrained by the requirements of documentation, and possessed of marked literary talents, he has written an unusually readable volume and, as stated at the outset, one that is likely to be found profitable to the general reader.

University of Tennessee

JENNINGS B. SANDERS

The Social History of American Agriculture. By Joseph Schafer. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. ix, 302. Maps. \$2.50.)

Social history has proven to be a most adaptable term; in this work it comprehends a series of lectures organized to relate superficially the story of rural

economy and life in America. The preface indicates that the work may be used as a text but this account of agricultural history, like others, shows the urgent need for more detailed investigation of the subject. Although well written and readable the book will not answer the need for an adequate survey, but should serve as a stimulus for further research and writing.

This work is divided into eight almost equal parts. The first chapter is a discussion of the "Land for Farmers" and shows that outlets to markets were as essential as fertile soil. Extensive treatment is given to land speculation, illegal settlement, and the political dilemma which faced the government in controlling the sale of the public lands.

The evolution of agriculture in America from the primitive subsistence economy to the big business farming and ranching of a more modern time is the subject of the next two divisions. The problems of the colonist and pioneer emanated from lack of adequate machinery and scientific knowledge while difficulties of a later date evolved with an increasingly complex economy. When the harvests were consumed at home there were no adversities caused by competition in a world market, tariffs, need for speedier transportation, confused production and speculation, and a complicated, sluggish financial system.

Chapters four and five trace the scientific progress of agriculture in the United States. Successful methodical improvement in England, Scotland, and other European countries served as an incentive. With the support and coadjuvancy of a group of noteworthy men, whose work is described with some detail in this study, there soon appeared journals, societies, fairs, schools, and later comprehensive organizations with agricultural improvement as their goal. Colleges and universities, particularly Yale, soon took up the task of hastening the work. As a result of this effort and of better organization the interest of the government was stimulated and the farmer derived patronage that has continually become more intricate.

The sixth and seventh sections consider social and political trends in rural life. The author has interspersed his development of these two subjects as well as other parts of the book with quotations and anecdotes that help present a more colorful picture. The last chapter is a summary of recent attempts to solve agricultural ills and a discussion of the prospect for the future.

This study is documented but not sufficiently to make convincing several very broad and general statements. The discussions are usually couched in such terms, however, that one would hesitate to debate the conclusions. There are few dates and one is often at loss for chronology. In parts dealing with the South there is overemphasis on the patrician society and Southern historians could question the treatment of slavery and the share-cropping system. The Granger movement and Populism are dismissed with three pages.

This reviewer questions the advisability of denominating the Bureau of Agriculture as a "department" as early as 1862. "Prophecy" is used as a noun

(p. 106) and U. B. Phillips appears several times as "Philipps" (pp. 72 ff.) but is corrected for the index. There is some inconsistency in the form of footnoting but not to an extent that would seriously confuse the reader as the citations are mainly to monographic material and general histories. There is no bibliography.

Louisiana State University

FRED COLE

A History of Lynchburg's Pioneer Quakers and Their Meeting House, 1754-1936. By Mrs. Douglas Summers Brown. (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1936. Pp. viii, 180. Illustrations. \$1.50.)

It is only in recent years that historians have come to realize the diversity of people who comprised the Virginia of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. This book is an account not of large slaveholders of the Tidewater or of German and Scotch-Irish farmers of the Valley but of the Quakers of Lynchburg and the surrounding counties. Surprising as it may seem to many superficial students of Virginia history, it was Quakers, not Presbyterians or other dissenters who were the chief pioneers of this section. It was the Friends who founded the thriving city of Lynchburg, and from them are descended a large proportion of its present inhabitants as well as thousands of other people in the farther South and Middlewest. Among the families of old South River Monthly Meeting, as listed by Mrs. Brown, are one or more ancestors of Mark Twain, Jefferson Davis, Mark Hanna, Lady Nancy Astor, Edwin M. Stanton, Dorothy Dix; Mrs. Aurelia Caldwell Glass, the late wife of Senator Carter Glass; John Lynch, founder of Lynchburg; and Asa G. Candler, discoverer of the formula for Coca Cola!

Examining the records of the Quaker meeting as quoted by Mrs. Brown, one may easily imagine that he is reading a portion of the early history of Pennsylvania instead of the Old Dominion. To give a few items: in 1764 John Hampton was disowned for "following vain fashions," in 1774 Zachariah Moorman for "being married by an hireling priest," and in 1792 Richard Tullis for "retaining a negro in bondage." And there was also the rhyme by the courageous suitor:

"If the Lord be willing
and the Friends permit,
I'll marry Betsy before
I quit."

The first Quaker meetinghouse in the Lynchburg community was built in 1752 and a generation after the Revolution its sober, industrious members were still the most influential element in the community. But in 1839 the last "worship meeting" was held. The Quakers were absorbed in other churches—notably the Methodist, or they moved away from the Old Dominion. The Virginia Quakers settled largely in Ohio and the North Carolina Quakers in Indiana. Let it be said to their credit that they emigrated partly because of opposition to slavery.

Mrs. Brown is the wife of a former minister of the present Quaker Memorial Presbyterian Church. *Lynchburg's Pioneer Quakers* is based on some original records or photostats as well as local histories and traditions. Her book contains some faults of annotation and other minor errors. Also too much space is given to the history of the Quakers in general. But Mrs. Brown writes in an interesting style and with an enthusiasm which is conveyed to the reader. It is hoped that other local historians will soon follow her example and depart from the trite themes.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

ROBERT D. MEADE

History of Maysville and Mason County. Volume I. By G. Glenn Clift. (Lexington, Kentucky: Transylvania Printing Company, 1936. Pp. ix, 461. Bibliography. \$5.00.)

Interest in this book should extend beyond the bounds of Kentucky. After a chapter on the physical geography of the county and its prehistoric inhabitants, the author gives considerable information about the earliest explorers of the region south of the Ohio. Gist, Kenton, Harrod, Boone, Clark, and others pass before the reader as they open up the territory for settlement and development. The next two divisions, "Cultural Beginnings, 1784-1795" and "After the Twenty Years War, 1795-1830" (pp. 44-172), reveal the exploits and accomplishments of the pioneers who established Anglo-Saxon institutions in the "Great Meadows" in northern Kentucky. There is much information concerning Indian hostilities in the Ohio Valley from Dunmore's War in 1774 to Wayne's victory in 1794; and the "growing pains" of an early Western county are described.

Simon Kenton is given as the Father of Mason County, which Virginia created in 1788. He founded the town of Washington, which became the county's first seat of government. This inland village prospered and aspired to become the nation's capital, but ultimately its rival, Maysville, passed it in the struggle for political and economic pre-eminence. The victor in this interesting rivalry was named for John Mays, "Clerk of the Land Commission sent out by Virginia in 1779" to adjust the confusion in land titles. The county was named for the renowned George Mason of Yorktown, Virginia. Through Maysville (first called Limestone) entered many human and material elements which developed and distinguished Kentucky during the first half century of her history. The perils of commerce on the Ohio and the nature of business in a Western pioneer river town are well presented. In those days and the following years Maysville entertained many distinguished visitors; even John Quincy Adams came in 1843 vehemently denying any "bargain" with Henry Clay.

The fifth chapter (pp. 173-201) gives the solid growth and increasing importance of Maysville. Banks, factories, racing, politics, slavery, cemeteries, and transportation indicate the range of subjects treated. The next division, "Events

from 1850 to 1870" (pp. 202-45), is devoted mostly to the War between the States. The Maysville *Eagle* stood by the Union, but the Maysville *Express* "never overlooked a chance to praise" the Confederacy (p. 218). The narrative proper closes with a short chapter on "Later Years, 1870-1935." During this period some new enterprises were established and old ones improved.

Chapter eight has three divisions, which are in substance a sort of appendix. Part one contains "Abstracts from Pension Papers of Mason County soldiers who served in the Revolutionary War, Indian Wars and the War of 1812" (pp. 264-310). These forty-two cases contain much interesting information about the applicants for pensions and also about persons whose affidavits supported these applications. Part two gives the names of the men who comprised the three volunteer companies that Mason County contributed to the War of 1812. The last division of this chapter contains excerpts from the first ninety-nine wills recorded in the county (1791-1813). This information is valuable, since it indicates the economic condition of the deceased. These 104 pages, therefore, are good primary source material for the student of early Kentucky history.

The book is intensely interesting and is sufficiently authenticated with notes and a bibliography. The index is entirely adequate. Mr. Clift promises a second and concluding volume in 1938, which will contain other phases of the history of Maysville and Mason County. It looks, however, as if agriculture, which is the greatest interest of the county, is being rather slighted.

Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College

J. T. DORRIS

History of Walker County [Alabama], Its Towns and Its People. By John Martin Dombhart. (Thornton, Arkansas: Cayce Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. 382. \$2.50.)

"Whether this work is a history or merely a directory of early settlers is an open question" which the author raises at the outset. Only 80 pages are devoted to the general narrative (Pt. I), 30 to the history of the individual towns (Pt. II), and 165 to the "Early Settlers" (Pt. III). "Early Settlers" includes prominent men who have recently died and even a few living men! Although the work has a table of contents, it lacks an index, maps, bibliography, and footnotes in the first two parts. In spite of the last omission sources are cited in the biographical section which constitutes well over half of the work.

Fewer than 382 pages should have sufficed for the book. There is considerable repetition in the three parts and good reasons seem lacking for the three approaches. The narrative should have received all the information contained in the sketches of towns and people. The biographical directory is padded with the names of people about whom information is so meager as to be apparently valueless. However, the value of the work lies principally in the biographical sketches because many of them are well-written and contain new material which it is possible to check through the footnotes. Notable among these are the accounts

of General John Manasco, James O. Cain, Dr. Edward G. and L. B. Musgrove, Eldridge Mallard, Robert Guttery, Thomas J. King, Franklin A. Gamble, John H. Cranford, Benjamin M. Long, John B. Shields, the Bankheads, the O'Rears, N. B. Posey, and William A. Hewlett.

The sources in addition to most of the well-known secondary works, especially Moore and Owen, include dozens of family records, gravestones, the *Census of Confederate Soldiers* (1907), *Walker County Tract Records*, local newspapers (after 1877), probate records, and the *United States Census Reports*. Abernethy's *Formative Period in Alabama*, the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, and the valuable social history in the *Ku Klux Conspiracy* have not been consulted. The author did not use newspapers of the counties which once included all or a part of Walker County (Madison, Tuscaloosa, Marion, Winston, Lawrence, Cullman, Blount, and Jefferson).

The narrative ranges from the Indians to the New Deal. The author devotes more attention to social and economic history than to the political. However, the strictly chronological treatment of Parts I and II does not appear to be invariably the best organization. Causation receives little attention, although the author does not exude praise for all. Interesting details of Walker County are not lacking from the first hanging to the first automobile. The author's style is clear and comparatively readable.

This is a compilation which students of Alabama history will wish to consult.

University of Alabama

CHARLES G. SUMMERSELL

The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616). By Luis Gerónimo de Oré. Translated, with Biographical Introduction and Notes, by Maynard Geiger. *Franciscan Studies*, No. 18. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936. Pp. xx, 145. \$1.00.)

Those who have ventured to remove the haze from Florida frontier history have long needed some co-ordinating documents like Oré's *Relación*. This work, although the date of publication is listed for various years between 1604 and 1617, throws definite light on Florida mission history up to the latter date. Father Geiger's special preparation enables him to clear this moot point which has troubled bibliographers from Barcía and Pinelo to Medina and Means.

Any document tracing the story of the friars and Jesuits in Florida from 1565 to 1617 would be very useful, but Oré's contribution depends in no small measure upon the editing. Many passages which would be unintelligible to any but the specialist are clarified by painstaking notes (unfortunately clustered at the end of each of the translations of Oré's chapters rather than at the bottom of each page). One almost begins to wish for errors in the rather thin original text, such as an improper name for Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, for the sake of the elaboration certain to come in the correction. Not only printed works but many manuscripts have been used in the revision.

While there are few basic facts of Georgia and Florida history before 1616 which have not been gleaned from other documents, this contemporaneous history offers something to the historian who feels the necessity of imaginative matter but does not believe it is proper or scientific to create it out of whole cloth. A bald official document was generally written for the consumption of men who like the author knew and took for granted the everyday facts of mission life. Yet those are the very facts this history has sorely needed to inject life into prosaic, not to say piecemeal, material. The very mentality of the missionary as in the case of Fray Juan de San Nicolás (p. 72), or in the suffering of the imprisoned Father Dávila, frequently can be observed and understood. One baffling point, the adroit method the friars used to handle the question of polygamy as they sought to implant Christianity, is related with some wealth of detail. The story of the massacre of the Jesuits in Virginia can now be told more completely. Sometimes the Oré document makes possible a correction of some postulates of mission history. For example, the question of the race of Don Alonso becomes white as contended by Father Michael Kenny. Some information useful in locating sites of Indian towns, as located from the Spanish documents by Swanton and others, can be found here. Since the province of Santa Elena (Florida) was created only in 1612, Oré's discussion of provincial affairs carries additional weight in the matter of church government in Florida.

Father Geiger's translation is very satisfactory. Occasionally one wonders as in the case of "breaking to pieces a man's brains," whether he was trying to preserve the atmosphere of the *Relación* or simply translating literally. Father Geiger should be thanked as well as congratulated for bringing this work into English, even though the rarity of the first edition made it necessary to translate from and check by a later Spanish edition. The *Relación* is intrinsically interesting and deserves to be read more widely in Georgia and Florida than will likely be the case.

Duke University

JOHN TATE LANNING

Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland. By Raphael Semmes. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. Bibliography, appendixes. \$5.00.)

In *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* the reader finds a lusty tome of 856 pages where there are many more things and events in exposition than the title indicates. While the very extent of the volume militates against its popularity with the so-called average reader, by the same token its scope gives all the greater satisfaction to the student of history, who wants—and gets—supporting references to the statements of the author. Dr. Semmes' work, therefore, is not only of high illustrative value in the field of Maryland narrative but of permanent worth in the larger realm of American history. With respect to the twenty-six chapters, this reviewer would say that students will especially acclaim those

descriptive of popular customs and economic conditions, with others that offer new material in a definitive presentation of mooted, or muted, subjects.

"The Scene: A Wilderness Abounding with Game" is the title of the opening chapter in which, as in all the chapters, the author shows familiarity with source material, from which he frequently quotes passages verbatim. Here, also, we find an excellent account of the hardships of the early trans-Atlantic crossings, described at greatest length in the eighteenth century *Journal of a Lady of Quality* (Yale University Press, 1921). Again, in "Sloops, and Shallops" and in "Traders," the author adds much to our general fund of information as to life on the water. The chapters referring to the frequent negotiations with the Indian tribes—both those in Maryland and of the Five Nations—are of especial interest and value; and a distinctively unbiased contribution is that chapter which covers the dispute between William Claiborne and Cecil Calvert; for this disputation has had Maryland historians accusing Claiborne of almost every crime in the decalog, with Virginia authorities replying in kind about Lord Baltimore.

The excellencies of Dr. Semmes' contribution are many. On the negative side, the reviewer feels that the work is not helped by frequent quotations from the well-known writings of the redoubtable, but far from undoubted, Captain John Smith, who, it would appear, is glorified as a prime authority. Against Dr. Semmes' eulogy in which he writes: "It has been truly said of Captain Smith that he represented 'the best type of the English Gentleman of his day' " may be set the view of nearly all American historians of the present era that Smith's writings are most unreliable, a view summarized by Dr. John Franklin Jameson who, in his *History of Historical Writing in America*, has described Smith's compilation as a "remarkable historical mosaic, of which it may almost be said that what is historical is not his and what is his is not historical." Again following the elder school, one notes that the author accepts the lead of Dr. B. C. Steiner who declared that: "The twenty-fifth of March is the day on which the first colonists sent out by Lord Baltimore landed on the soil of Maryland."

Now no one would deny that the civil government of the province was officially proclaimed at St. Mary's on March 27. Assuming, then, that the "first landing" took place at St. Clements Island on the 25th, here are a few things the Maryland colonists would appear to have accomplished—within 48 hours: Rescued the maids, who had overturned the shallop; built a barge out of seasoned lumber brought over in the *Ark*; cut pales for and erected a "palisado"; set up a cross with accompanying religious exercises (which undoubtedly occurred on the 25th), sought out Indian werowances at Potowmeck Town and Piscattaway, as many leagues up the Potomac as the site of St. Mary's was below. And all this in the face of established records that conferences with the natives were notoriously tedious, and that sailing boats were used in the trip up, as well as down, the river. It would appear, therefore, that if the Maryland colonists landed first at St. Clements Island on the 25th and then, after doing all the

above mentioned things, established on the 27th the government at St. Mary's twenty-odd miles down the Potomac and up one of its estuaries, they indeed performed miracles! Since it is known, also, that the Maryland colonists entered the Potomac on March 3, it is almost inconceivable that they effected no landing prior to the 25th.

Matters of terminology are now regarded as of increasing importance in the treatment of American history. Without re-examining the archives of Maryland, we may assume that the author is correct in specifically stating (p. 30) that the Maryland colonists were "appropriately" called *adventurers*. If so, the Maryland usage reversed English custom at the time of the founding of Virginia only a few years before, when *adventurers* meant those who staked their fortunes in the trans-Atlantic enterprise but not their persons, while the colonists were termed *venturers*—a convenient and interesting distinction. *Filth* is interpreted as "turf"; but the word has survived in the lexicon of the farmers of Virginia and Maryland as meaning weeds, briars, or any growth regarded as an encumbrance. Of special importance is the use of the word *slaves*. The author speaks of slaves when the term *might* have meant indentures. This interchange is illustrated by Lieutenant Governor Argall's proclamation of June 17, 1617, in which was prescribed a penalty of "three years slavery to the colony." In fact, in the early Virginia records, the term *slaves* was frequently used for *indentured* servants. This has led to an almost universal misconception as to the first introduction in 1619 of Negroes as slaves, when it now appears that they were probably bound out for a term of years.

In referring to the second Lord Baltimore, Dr. Semmes happily follows recent exposition in the use of *Cecil* rather than the previously universal *Cecilius*, *Cecilius* being almost as pedantic as *Jacobus Primus* for James I. The index is like all Gaul, divided into three parts: Indian names, names of persons, and a separate section for topics. Such is the somewhat antiquated method originally pursued in the published volumes of the *Maryland Archives*. Typographical errors are reduced to a minimum; and one hopes that this work is a harbinger of further contributions by the same author.

Baltimore, Maryland

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Indian Affairs in Georgia, 1732-1756. By John Pitts Corry. (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Company, 1936. Pp. 197. Bibliography, maps. \$2.50.)

Based upon a charter granted the preceding year, the colony of Georgia was founded in 1733. Its location made it a "debatable land" of English, Spanish, and French imperial rivalries. In the interplay of those rivalries a factor of primary importance was the attitude of the two great aboriginal nations, the Creek and the Cherokee. Although there were times when the future looked dark indeed for the English, it was they who, for the most part, could count

rather heavily on native friendship. The success of the English is largely explained by two reasons: better and cheaper trading goods were offered the Indians by them than by their Spanish and French rivals; advantage was taken of the personality of Oglethorpe. The policy of the founder of the colony was to single out a native chieftain to represent his people in all negotiations with the Georgians and to shower with attentions the one selected; the first recipient was Tomochichi, followed, after his death, by Mary Musgrove. The English hold on the aborigines was weakened somewhat by the years—long controversy which raged between South Carolina and Georgia over the latter's Indian Act of 1735, designed to gain for Georgia control over *all* traders operating or journeying within its charter limits. Carried to the English privy council, the case resulted in an unpopular compromise. Indian loyalty was tested in 1739 by the outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear; hundreds of Creek and Cherokee warriors attached themselves to English contingents and figured prominently in the subsequent campaigns against the Spanish. The Georgians found French influence among the red men more difficult to cope with than Spanish; nevertheless, during King George's War most of the Creek and Cherokee were kept friendly to the English. Then with the 1750's Georgia influence among the natives waned perceptibly, explained in part by the increased activity of French agents and by the uncertainty and confusion in the colony incident to the surrender of their charter by the trustees and to the inauguration of royal rule. Big with promise, therefore, was the plan of 1756, calling as it did for the appointment by the crown of a superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern colonies and for the assumption by him of much of the authority formerly exercised by provincial appointees.

Such in outline is the theme of the volume under review, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania. There are a number of minor imperfections. The frontispiece map and the text are not always in conformity: the fort appears on the map as "Tombeche," in the text (p. 99) as "Tombekbe"; the village on the map as "Tellio," in the text (p. 108) as "Tellico"; the map indicates four divisions of the Cherokee nation, while the text (p. 35) speaks explicitly of three. There are other inconsistencies: it is stated (p. 95), "Georgia within whose limits most of the Creek nation lay," whereas the frontispiece map shows and the text elsewhere (pp. 23, 34) indicates that most of the Creek nation lay without the limits of Georgia. No scale of distances is shown for the map, but it is certainly not in harmony with the statement (p. 34) that Coweta was 200 miles from Augusta and 120 from Fort Toulouse. Certain references in the footnotes seem pointless; for example, "on the Illinois Indians, see . . ." (p. 36, n. 61), when nothing in the text calls for such a citation. Although relevant, John Tate Lanning, *The Diplomatic History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1936), and Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe* (Oxford, 1936), do not appear in the bibliography; their omission is perhaps explained

by their recent appearance. Finally, in a monograph on Indian affairs, the devotion of an entire chapter (pp. 83-94), including but casual reference to relations with the red men, to the purely military aspects of Oglethorpe's Georgia career seems quite unwarranted.

On the other hand, the volume has its good points. The format is attractive. The table of contents is analytical. The two maps are distinctly useful. The style is clear and direct. The citations, judging by several samples which were verified, are trustworthy. The bibliography is critical. The study is buttressed by a use of the Library of Congress copies of documents in French and Spanish archives. The author's chief contribution, it appears, is that he has made available a concise, readable, and accurate account of Indian affairs in Georgia prior to 1756.

The National Archives

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot. By James Alton James. (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. ix, 376. \$4.00.)

In this excellent volume Professor James continues his valuable work on the general theme of the West in the American Revolution, the special field in which he has long since won for himself an enviable reputation for painstaking and thorough research and able writing. The volume does not purport to be a full-length biography of Oliver Pollock. The latter part of the sub-title—*Times of an Unknown Patriot*—accurately reveals the nature and scope of the work. There is very little space devoted to the early or late years of Oliver Pollock's career, due to the dearth of source materials on these phases of his life. The bulk of the volume deals with the important activities of Pollock in behalf of the American cause in the West during the Revolution, with his valuable work in support of American interests in that quarter during the critical period of the Confederation, and with his patient endeavors to secure repayment of the advances which he had made with great sacrifice to the governments of the United States and the state of Virginia.

The author brings out in a masterly way the importance of the aid secured for the American cause, particularly in the West, from the Spanish city of New Orleans, largely through the influence and activities of Pollock in that quarter. The keen interest of Spanish officialdom in Louisiana in the success of the American cause during the Revolution is nowhere else so adequately treated as in this work, nor has the great importance of the secret or open aid gained from Spanish sources through the agency of Pollock been so fully recorded by any previous writer. Ample evidence is presented to support the author's view that the winning of the Old Northwest during the Revolution, and its retention by the United States at the close of that struggle, was due in large measure to timely

shipments of sorely needed supplies forwarded by Pollock to George Rogers Clark at the critical periods in his campaign.

Oliver Pollock is justly portrayed as a true American patriot. After he had ventured and dissipated his entire fortune and exhausted his extensive credit in the cause of independence, being reduced to poverty and dependence upon his friends for support, he did not become embittered at the tardiness of the United States and Virginia in the repayment of the advances which he had made in his country's cause at such great personal sacrifice. Through fortune and misfortune he remained unwavering in his loyalty to the United States, believing that the justice of his claims would ultimately be recognized. Surely, the pages of American history do not afford a better example of the true patriot.

Some few unimportant errors have crept into the work. Volume XXI of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is listed (p. 8, n. 20, and in the bibliography, p. 363), while that publication is just now completing its volume XX. "Piroques" appears for "pirogues" (p. 19), and "plain" for "plan" (p. 316). Manchac is erroneously located "some forty miles above New Orleans" (p. 66, n. 11), whereas the actual distance by the course of the river is more than one hundred miles; and the distance from Manchac to Baton Rouge is given as sixty miles (p. 196), whereas the true distance by the course of the river is only fifteen miles. It is stated (p. 250, n. 1) that "By the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States, September, 1783, Louisiana and the Floridas were ceded to Spain," although Louisiana had been a Spanish possession since it was ceded to her by France in 1762.

However, the above minor errors do not materially detract from the merit of the work. The author is to be congratulated upon his success in giving to the public such a valuable volume on the history of the American Revolution in the West, thus making better known the important services of an "Unknown Patriot." This new volume supplants all others on the subject with which it deals, and no student of the American Revolution can afford to neglect to give it a careful reading.

Appendix II contains valuable and interesting new material on the origin of the dollar mark (\$), with illustrations taken from Pollock's accounts.

The printers have done their work well. There is an extensive and valuable bibliography, and an adequate index.

Louisiana State University

WALTER PRICHARD

Religion on the American Frontier. Volume II, The Presbyterians, 1783-1840, A Collection of Source Materials. By William Warren Sweet. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1936. Pp. xii, 939. Maps, bibliography. \$3.50.)

In this volume, Professor Sweet continues his contribution to the history of the church and of the frontier in the United States. His previous work of this nature

includes the editing of various records and the writing of church history. Among the editorial productions may be mentioned *The Rise of Methodism in the West, being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1801-1811*; *Circuit Rider Days along the Ohio, being the Journals of the Ohio Conference . . . 1812-1826*; *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana* [the Journals of the Indiana Conference, 1832-1843]; and *Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists, 1783-1830*. The first three of these were concerned with the Methodist Episcopal Church. His writings on church history include *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, *The Story of Religions in America*, and *Methodism in American History*. It will readily be seen that this activity has qualified Professor Sweet to do a very satisfactory piece of work in the present volume.

The chief importance of this contribution is in the field of church history. Scattered documentary materials, some of which might soon have been lost, have been gathered together and made available to a much larger body of students than could possibly have used the unpublished collections. Furthermore, the significant passages have been culled from a larger amount of material. This has been, of course, a very difficult task, for no one can be certain what an investigator may wish to see, but the character of the documents of church history is such that it is probable that the task has been very well done. In fact, it is possible that the material has been presented more extensively than is actually necessary. It may also be noted that the location of the originals is not always stated, a fact which may cause difficulty to the student who may wish to consult the parts of the documents that have not been printed.

One of the best features of the volume is the 125-page introduction in which the editor traces the history of the Presbyterian Church in its westward expansion from its organization as a national church after the American Revolution to the year 1840. This furnishes the background which the reader needs in order to use the documentary materials intelligently.

Beginning with extracts from the minutes of the Transylvania and Cumberland presbyteries and the Synod of Kentucky, 750 pages of correspondence, autobiographies, and various materials are given. They illustrate the working of the Plan of Union, the administration of discipline, the founding of early educational institutions, Indian missions, the work of the American Home Missionary Society, ministerial relations, frontier missionary tours, and finally the Old School-New School controversy and schism. An extensive and very useful bibliography, which is classified and annotated, but not critical, is also given.

The expansion of the church, through the work of missionaries on tour, the founding of churches, presbyteries, and synods, was very similar to the Methodist procedure on the frontier, which involved circuit riders, classes and churches, districts, and conferences. Perhaps this indicates that both organizations were formed in response to frontier conditions. The expansion of the church followed very closely the population movements, and it is possible by using the material

presented to distinguish roughly between the Presbyterianism of the New England migration and that of the movement through the Southern Appalachians. The Great Revival divided the ministers of the Kentucky Synod over the use of revival methods and the necessity of an educated ministry. From this split came the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which favored the use of the campmeeting and felt less keenly the need of educated ministers. A further division arose when certain ministers were charged with a defection from Calvinistic views. Some of the seceders formed a "Christian" Church and others entered the Shaker organization. A later schism developed because the Plan of Union, adopted in the Northeast, brought Congregational doctrines and methods into the Presbyterian Church; because of differences over conducting the missionary enterprises; and because of the new and more radical antislavery movement of the northern part of the church. These differences divided the Presbyterians into the New School and the Old School, the former being found largely in the area settled by New Englanders, while the latter was largely found in the Middle and Southern States and in the Western area settled by the emigrants from these states.

Although a considerable amount of the material can scarcely be of interest to the student of general American history, there is information of importance in that field and particularly for the frontier period in the area east of the Mississippi River. The influence of slavery upon the movements of population and in the councils of the church, tending towards the formation of a North-South sectionalism at an early date, is significant. Additional evidence is given about the efforts of the Presbyterian Church to adapt itself to frontier conditions, to reach the Indians, and to keep pace with the pioneers along a far-flung frontier, as well as the emotionalism and evangelical enthusiasm which characterized the church on the frontier.

Louisiana State University

JOHN D. BARNHART

Lincoln, 1847-1853: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1847 to December 31, 1853. By Benjamin P. Thomas. (Springfield: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1936. Pp. lx, 388. Maps. \$3.75.)

This volume, compiled by a former secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, is a day-by-day account of Lincoln's personal activities over a period of seven years. Each page is divided into dated spaces, most of which Dr. Thomas has been able to fill by painstaking research among old newspapers, manuscripts, and other records. Several maps add interest and value to the work.

This study covers important, but somewhat obscure, years of Lincoln's life. At the beginning of 1847 he had achieved what was probably at the time his highest political ambition. He was congressman-elect of the seventh district of Illinois. When the "lone Whig" representative of that state arrived in Washington, he found lodging at Widow Spriggs' boardinghouse, now the site of the Library of Congress.

Among other legislators who lived at Mrs. Spriggs' were John Dickey of Pennsylvania, an offensive man in manner and conversation, and Patrick W. Tompkins of Mississippi, who frequently engaged in hot dispute at the dinner table over slavery and the Wilmot Proviso. However, as one of the boarders relates, Lincoln's droll humor "so completely disarranged the tenor of the discussion that the parties engaged would either separate in good temper or continue conversation free from discord."

Violent debates over the war with Mexico rocked the Thirtieth Congress. Heedless of grave warnings from home, Lincoln stood with Southern Whigs who vociferously denied that Mexico had been the aggressor. On February 2, 1848, when his colleague, "Little Alec" Stephens, arose in his seat and, with deep emotion, criticized Polk's war policies, Lincoln scribbled a note to Hernon, his law partner: "I just take my pen to say that Mr. Stephens of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old withered, dry eyes are full of tears yet."

By his votes on various phases of the slavery question during his single term in Congress, Lincoln expressed his belief that compensated and gradual emancipation was the best solution and his opposition to unnecessary agitation of the subject.

At the close of his term, Lincoln found that resentment over his attitude on the Mexican War made re-election impossible. Believing his public career at an end, he turned his back upon politics and resolutely, if somewhat sadly, set about to regain his law practice, which had suffered greatly in his absence.

During the next four years, Lincoln rode the circuit of fourteen counties in spring and fall; argued cases before the Supreme and Federal courts which sat at Springfield in winter; became one of the leading lawyers of Central Illinois with a clientele second only to that of Judge Stephen T. Logan, his former law partner.

Jogging along rutted, solitary roads, with the Illinois *Statutes*, Shakespeare, and Simson's *Euclid* in his old saddlebags, he slowly pondered the political, economic, and social problems of the day. Then, upon repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Lincoln appeared again upon the hustings. Standing there on muddy, wind-swept prairies and dimly lighted platforms of village halls, speaking a calm, simple, idiomatic language which the plain, quiet people understood, he seemed the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the common man.

Some historians have called this period of Lincoln's life the "buried years." Undoubtedly Lincoln himself regarded his term in Congress a failure. He did not realize that his sincerity and his unfailing good temper and common sense had won an esteem among his associates, which not even the terrible sixties could erase. He never dreamed that thirty years, almost to the very day, after the Georgia statesman's moving eloquence had filled his "withered" eyes with tears,

"Little Alec," on February 12, 1878, would again rise in his seat and deliver a Lincoln eulogy to a joint session of Congress.

"I knew Mr. Lincoln well," said the former vice-president of the Confederacy. "Not highly cultivated, he had a native genius far above the average of his fellows. . . . He was most truly, as he afterwards said on a memorable occasion, 'with malice toward none, with charity for all.' "

One cannot read the record written by Dr. Thomas without realizing the importance of 1847-1853 in the growth and development of Abraham Lincoln.

Lexington, Kentucky

WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

Aaron Burr; The Proud Pretender. By Holmes Alexander. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. Pp. xii, 390. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

In this volume Mr. Alexander presents a more finished product than in *The American Talleyrand*—finished but by no means definitive. He has studied the well-known sources to advantage; he has familiarized himself with the leading secondary works and a host of minor books and separate articles. There are, however, materials both in manuscript and in print that he has not made use of and in many cases he seems to follow too closely the conclusions of other secondary writers. But he has made a fascinating volume in spite of frequent resort to fine writing and obvious attempts to sacrifice historical accuracy to psychological prepossessions.

What the author gives us is a psychological treatise, with each new phase in the development of his theme introduced by a dramatic incident. These do not always follow chronologically upon the preceding text but they keep Burr in the center of affairs. The author picks out a striking scene, places the hero in the appropriate setting, supplies him with some stage properties, and then proceeds to recapitulate the events that led up to the dramatic moment. This gives us a readable volume with stirring pen pictures. But it does not necessarily recount the real history of the event nor lead to a true picture of Burr's career as a whole. It is effective writing, but it is far from being adequate biography or even accurate psychology. Facts are too often twisted to make facile conclusions. His quotations show histrionic interpretation rather than the more tedious development of legal, political, or military strategy. He assumes to correct other writers where they differ with him but at times without bringing definite proof to support his own conclusions.

Nevertheless, he presents many fascinating descriptions such as the march through the Maine wilderness (pp. 37-42); Burr as a family man—spendthrift of time and of money, to give "his dear little flock" all that his ambition craved for them; the triumphant entry of Washington into New York on the heels of the British army (pp. 83 ff.); his comparison of Burr and Hamilton; and dozens of other sketches, graphically detailed in brief compass. For his facts he depends

largely upon Parton and Wandell and Minnigerode. He makes extensive use of Matthew L. Davis, and follows Henry Adams closely in attributing to Burr motives of disloyalty and of overweening ambition. While reasonably familiar with magazine articles and other monographs depicting phases of Burr's career, he does not permit these studies to modify his prepossessions. This is true even in the case of McCaleb's *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*. He fancies that Burr exemplifies Nietzsche's unfinished study *The Will to Power* although he finds it necessary to distort interpretations and rearrange facts to support his theory.

In passing one notes a number of time slips that a more meticulous student would have avoided. He represents Hamilton (p. 22) as being stoned in the streets of New York in pre-Revolutionary days. This was obviously based on Hamilton's experience when attempting more than twenty years later to defend the Jay Treaty. The number killed at Bunker Hill (p. 25) is given for the total number of casualties. He assumes (p. 142) that Burr was to prevent a tie vote in the presidential contest of 1800. Hamilton was not the commanding general of the American army (pp. 207, 228) on the eve of his duel with Burr. Nor was Wilkinson "removed from his commission" for the reason given on page 229. He makes a slip (p. 243) with reference to Pike's expedition to Santa Fé. He accepts too readily (p. 244) surmises with respect to a "Mexican Society" in New Orleans. It is doubtful (p. 248) if Yrujo was ever "ensnared by Burr." In accordance with his tendency to fix separatism upon Burr (p. 259), he gives altogether too much credence to the famous cipher letter. "Thrice in three weeks" is once too often for Burr's legal examinations in Kentucky (p. 265). He seems a little uncertain (p. 221) of the position of the Washita country. Jonathan Russell (p. 325) was *chargés d' affaires*, not American consul in Paris. He uses the inadequate copy (p. 357) of Esther Edwards' Journal as quoted by Wandell and Minnigerode instead of the original in the Yale Library or the more reliable excerpts in the *New England Magazine*. He does not seem fair in his characterization of Alston, Burr's son-in-law (p. 165), nor in his interpretation of Edward Livingston's part in connection with the famous tie vote (p. 170). It is possible to give a better explanation of Burr's visit to Florida (p. 221). He rightfully emphasizes (p. 244) the importance of Burr's maps, but he misses the point with respect to newspaper queries about Burr's plans (p. 246). He seems to put too much credence in such witnesses against Burr as Eaton and Peter Taylor and to give too much weight to Blennerhassett's surmises (pp. 301 ff.). Burr's visit to Europe and his sojourn in Edinburgh, Paris, and other centers is perverted from its main purpose. Burr's course abroad was open to wide moral censure, but he had some reason for journeying to Europe aside from putting the ocean between himself and his enemies.

One follows with kindling interest the author's description of Burr's last days. Much of this is a summary of Parton and Wandell, but the author presents the salient points briefly and effectively. We may conclude by saying that Mr. Alex-

ander's presentation was well worth making without giving him full credit for achieving complete success.

Northwestern University

ISAAC J. COX

Fort Maitland; Its Origin and History. By Alfred Jackson Hanna. (Maitland, Florida: The Fort Maitland Committee, 1936. Pp. xxii, 92. Illustrations, maps. \$2.00.)

The preface to this little volume makes acknowledgment to students participating in a group conference study project and to others assisting Professor Hanna in a scholarly record of Fort Maitland, a cantonment of the Seminole Indian War. Fort Maitland was located near Orlando in what is now Orange County, Florida.

The earlier portion of the study is devoted to a chronology. Following this is a biographical sketch of William Seton Maitland, an army officer of the Seminole War period.

Fort Maitland was one of the many small defenses constructed at the time of the Seminole War. It figured in General Taylor's campaign of 1838, when the war was prosecuted with renewed vigor. Fort Maitland played only a minor part in the scheme for the defense of Central Florida.

The book is interesting as an example of the careful study of a local subject. The work is carefully done and is well documented. Perhaps the chronology could have been shortened somewhat. The study demonstrates clearly that the materials for teaching and training in history are on almost every hand, and that a feeling for history may well be developed from local origins, often not of great importance. This little book is a contribution, both to the field of history and to that of pedagogy.

University of Florida

J. D. GLUNT

General Philip Kearny, Battle Soldier of Five Wars Including the Conquest of the West by General Stephen Watts Kearny. By Thomas Kearny. With a Preface by Frank Monaghan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. Pp. xv, 496. Illustrations, bibliography. \$4.00.)

Without a doubt Philip Kearny has never received the notice due him as one of the most dashing and daring military *fighters* of the nineteenth century. With ever increasing brilliance and glamour he fought with the French in Algiers, with Scott in Mexico, against the Indians in the West, with the French and Italians against the Austrians at Solferino, and finally lost his life against the Confederacy at Chantilly in 1862. Had he instead of McClellan commanded the Northern forces, the Civil War might easily have been perceptibly shortened. His grandson, after prodigious research in which he uncovered much new material

both in the United States and Europe, presents what is termed on the publishers' blurb the definitive biography of Philip Kearny.

Unfortunately the adoring author has overshot his mark. In spite of a distinct contribution in the presentation of Kearny's Civil War letters, the work as a whole must be dismissed as a lengthy family glorification. The author not only tells what did happen but throws the spotlight on what *might have happened*. He is unafraid of the *ifs* of history. *If* certain conditions had been fulfilled Kearny would have captured Mexico City nearly a month before its fall, *if* Sumner and Franklin had shown up Jackson would have been annihilated at Second Manassas, *if* Kearny had not been killed he would have been given the command of the Northern army; but, more remarkable, *if* Kearny had been followed in deed and advice, the Rebels would have lost Richmond and the war at First Manassas, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, *and* Second Manassas. It was quite commendable that Kearny be the *first* soldier to enter Mexico City, the *first* American to be admitted to the French Legion of Honor, the *first* to occupy the battlefields of Manassas and Williamsburg, but there may be some doubt of the importance of his monument being the *first* erected in the United States to a volunteer officer, of the Kearny New Jersey post being the *first* to obtain a charter, of his figure in Arlington being the *only* one there on horseback, and of the asserted fact that he was the *only* soldier decorated by Italy three fourths of a century after his death. In spite of the greatness of the subject, the reader tires of the eternal superlative not only in regard to the individual but also as concerns his family and friends.

Regardless of the research involved, the critic must consider the work woefully deficient in the paraphernalia of historical writing. The footnotes, citations, and bibliography are not only inadequate but inconsistent. Professor Monaghan, who has written an entertaining preface, could have supplied needed information. The system of quotation is so confusing that one is hard pressed to decide who is responsible for many statements. There is a unique way of referring to ancestors, *e.g.*, "Phil.'s grandfather raised to the 6th power" and "Phil.'s Aunt -5-." The author attempts to write in the grand manner and at times succeeds, but at others he is cumbersome, confusing, and ponderous. Too many exclamation points and capitals destroy emphasis and the efforts at flippancy are disastrous: "Get to know Phil.; he's the goods," and "or what not, or what have you?" At least thirty sentences are begun with "Let's" and there are too many outright grammatical errors.

On almost every page there are statements that raise mental question marks in the reader's mind. Was McClellan a traitor, imposter, incompetent, imbecile, military Jackass, and a coward? Did Mrs. Robert E. Lee act as a spy? Should a previous biographer be criticized for not having traced Kearny's spiritual lineage? Was Calhoun against expansion? Was it true that Scott "leaped to the door; and sprang across the Niagara river?" Why are accounts recognized as false and

misleading included? Was there co-operation between Lee and McClellan? Was it true that the Confederate officers "broke their oaths" and did they "slink away" to the South? Of many similar examples, just one, a comparison of Lee and Kearny, will be mentioned: "Oh, what a difference in the two men! One died for his country that it may be saved from traitors and disunion. The other fighting to destroy the country that gave him all he ever possessed. Fare-thee-well, our gallant old General! Thy memory will remain as long as the country will endure in the hearts of all the good and true in the land; while the memory of your late Mexican Comrade in Arms will forever be a shame and a disgrace in that land that nurtured him. For the name of Robert E. Lee will go down to generations unborn as the great rebel Chief that wanted to destroy the greatest nation on the globe; while the name of Philip Kearny will be exalted to the sky as one who died for his country that it might be the home of all who are oppressed in every clime."

The volume itself has a fine appearance, to which eighteen good pictures contribute. The index is rather poorly done. On the whole the author's purpose would have been more nearly achieved if he had forsaken the lawyer's brief for a straightforward narrative.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Volume III, Three Years in Battle and Three in Federal Prisons. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton with the collaboration of Rebecca Cameron. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1936. Pp. 466. 25 cents mailing charge.)

This concludes the publication of the *Shotwell Papers*. A total of 1531 pages of autobiographical material—about half of it in diary form and most of the remainder based on notes made soon after the events described—it relates the experiences of a daring young Confederate, three years a participant in major battles of the Civil War, six years a fiery and unrelenting foe of Reconstruction "Mongrels," and three years in Federal prisons—first as a prisoner of war and later as a leader of the Ku Klux Klan. Of the many such documents that have come down to us from that tragic era, few have appealed to the reviewer with as vivid and gripping interest.

Captain Shotwell was impetuous and intensely partisan, but within the limits of his point of view he was honest and trustworthy. "He was a man of unusual sensitiveness," says Dr. Hamilton in his introduction (I, xxv), "high-strung and emotional. . . . A fighter in every sense of the word, he was full to the brim of courage, impetuosity, deep convictions and intense prejudices." But in a way the value of his papers "is increased thereby because of the vividness of narration," and because they give to us—with better perspective—an insight into the feelings of one side in that bitterest of struggles in our history.

A Virginian by birth and a North Carolinian by adoption, R. A. Shotwell sprang from a background of culture and refinement. His father, a Presbyterian minister from a good Virginia family, was a graduate of Princeton; his mother, from the well-known Abbott family of Massachusetts, is for some reason scarcely mentioned, though some of her New England relatives appear in an unenviable light from the author's point of view. In the spring of 1861 young Shotwell, at the age of sixteen, was completing his studies at Media College in Pennsylvania and expecting to enter Princeton in the fall to study law. But impetuous Southerner as he was, when hostilities began he ran away from school, made his way by devious and hazardous means to Washington, thence by dare-devil contrivances through the Federal lines and across the Potomac to enlist as a private in the Confederate army. Thereafter he tells with a vigorous pen of his experiences in the battles of Leesburg (Ball's Bluff), Yorktown, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, the Seven Days, Second Manassas, Boonesboro, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. He participated in Pickett's charge with such gallantry that he was promoted to a lieutenancy. On the eve of Cold Harbor he ventured too far into the Federal lines and was captured. Thereafter he languished in great misery and greater rebellion of spirit in Federal prisons till the summer of 1865. He trudged his way back to Rutherfordton, North Carolina, where his father was then stationed. He tried, with little interest, to "read law," according to his father's wishes; but instead he threw himself into a journalistic fight-to-the-finish against the Carpetbag-Scalawag-Negro régime. His publications were generally in debt, but he managed somehow to keep going. Of the Loyal Leagues and the political activities of the Freedman's Bureau his hatred knew no bounds. Of the Ku Klux Klan he approved the major purposes but deplored the unbridled excesses. Though he never became a member of the Klan, he says, he was persuaded—unfortunately as events proved—to become its nominal leader in Rutherford County, with a view to restraining its more reckless elements and more wisely directing its course. This was after the passage of the Ku Klux Act, and it proved to be just what his political opponents wanted. Known or alleged to be connected with the Klan, he was arrested without warrant in Rutherfordton, shackled with felons in a vile dungeon, wagoned in irons to a worse dungeon in Marion, and after a prolonged and bitter stay, sent to Raleigh. There he was ramrodded by a picked jury and a biased judge to the Federal penitentiary in Albany, New York. Three years more of torture and of naturally expected complaint were followed by pardon and return to North Carolina. A partisan and indigent journalist again, he was finally on the way to prosperity when his career was cut short at the age of forty.

The story is tragic throughout, but it is often relieved by Shotwell's excellent sense of humor. For example, while at Albany he was finally promoted from shoe-sole trimmer to hospital steward, and while in the latter capacity the following incident is recorded (III, 303): He had an Irish patient, committed be-

cause "guilty of epileptic fits. . . I was obliged," says Shotwell, "to sit up with him half the night, although I gave him heavy doses of chloral. He is of the opinion that I am a priest; calls me 'Your Reverence' in deepest humility of tone and with great genuflections of body. His 'confession' apprized me that he had not been altogether faithful to Mrs. Murphey, but 'indeed, your Reverence, she caught me at it, so 'tis no matter; that don't be much of a sin, does it, your Reverence?' I absolved him."

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina ALEX M. ARNETT

Francis H. Pierpont: Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia. By Charles H. Ambler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xiii, 483. Illustrations, bibliography. \$5.00.)

In this interesting and well-written biography of Francis H. Pierpont (1814-1899) Professor Ambler has brought together much of the material found in such studies as his own volume on *Sectionalism in Virginia*, James C. McGregor's volume on *The Disruption of Virginia*, and Hamilton J. Eckenrode's monograph on *The Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction*. This study, however, has a twofold purpose for it seeks not only to provide a complete and comprehensive story of a neglected and misunderstood character but at the same time to shed additional light on the dramatic succession of events which led to the dismemberment of Virginia, the formation of West Virginia, the establishment of the "Restored Government" of Virginia, and the early efforts of that state in the direction of restoration to the Union.

Born in Monongalia County, (West) Virginia, Francis H. Pierpont (formerly spelled Peirpoint) spent his boyhood near Fairmont (now in Marion County, West Virginia) and later attended Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania. After teaching school for a short time in Mississippi Pierpont returned to western Virginia in 1842 where he began the practice of law in Marion County and other nearby counties. In 1854 he was married to Julia Augusta Robertson whose father was a minister and abolitionist in Wisconsin. This was not without its influence on Pierpont who became increasingly outspoken against Negro slavery although he never admitted himself to be an abolitionist.

During the decade preceding the war many of the trans-Allegheny Virginians were dissatisfied with the state government despite the concessions which had been granted them by the Virginia Reform Convention of 1850-1851. Pierpont voiced the sentiments of such individuals when he denounced the "Slave Power" of the East which granted unequal representation to the West in the state legislature, taxed general property more heavily than slaves, discriminated against the West in the program of internal improvements, and made little or no provision for free public schools. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Virginia Secession Convention finally decided to take this drastic step the people of western Virginia determined on separate and independent action.

In the drama of state dismemberment Pierpont was destined to play a leading part. When the second Wheeling convention determined to reorganize the state on a loyal basis Pierpont was unanimously elected as governor of Virginia on June 20, 1861. When Arthur I. Boreman was selected as governor of the newly-formed state of West Virginia Pierpont determined to continue his duties as governor of the commonwealth of Virginia. In this connection the author seeks to correct a general misconception by stressing the point that "the dismemberment of Virginia was not primarily the work of Black Republicans and abolitionists but, more largely than has been generally supposed, the fabrication of Democrats of 'inner tier' counties, among them being former Seceders" (pp. 128, 139, 208). Interesting, too, is the point that President Lincoln was induced to approve the admission of West Virginia to the Union on the grounds of expediency because, to quote from Pierpont himself, he finally reached the conclusion that "this is not a constitutional question, it is a political question" (p. 185).

While serving in Wheeling as governor of Virginia Pierpont had displayed marked ability in financing the state and prosecuting the war. When he removed to Alexandria after the establishment of West Virginia his authority and prestige were considerably reduced. The Alexandria government was regarded by many persons as a "bogus affair" and soon brought Pierpont into conflict with General Benjamin F. Butler who was in command of the eastern military district of Virginia and North Carolina. In this clash of civil and military authority, President Lincoln was inclined, though somewhat tardily, to uphold Pierpont's views and early in 1865 Butler was removed from his command at Norfolk.

At the close of the war Pierpont moved to Richmond in accordance with the executive order issued by President Johnson. For the "Father of West Virginia" to be in Richmond as governor of Virginia was indeed an anomalous situation and one in which he could hardly hope to win general sympathy or popular approval. In the following months, to quote Philip A. Bruce, Pierpont proved "too conservative to suit the views of the Radicals, and too radical to suit the views of the Conservatives" (p. 363). As a result he continued to lose in prestige and influence until he was finally replaced as governor by General Henry H. Wells on April 4, 1868.

Returning to West Virginia Pierpont engaged in politics for a time but largely withdrew from active participation after the Democrats came into power in 1872 and the state was given a new constitution. During his later years much of his interest was devoted to work of the Methodist Protestant Church of which he had long been an active member. Second only to the church in his affection was the Grand Army of the Republic.

From this illuminating study by Professor Ambler one concludes that Pierpont possessed at least some of the characteristics of a statesman but few of the traits of a politician. From first to last he was a civil and social reformer and a man

of deep religious convictions. With the passing of years West Virginians have come to understand and appreciate him more fully and, after some delay and uncertainty, his statue was unveiled in 1910 in Statuary Hall in the Federal Capitol. It might be noted, however, that on this occasion the senators and representatives from Virginia were conspicuous by their absence.

The preparation of this biography was inspired, no doubt, through the acquisition by the West Virginia University of the Pierpont Letters and Papers, a voluminous collection of varied source material. This was supplemented by the "Pierpont Manuscripts" found among the Virginia Executive Papers in the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library. Other primary and secondary materials included in the Selected Bibliography assure the reader of the author's competence to add another volume in this field of history in which he has already made several notable contributions.

The publishers have done an excellent and attractive piece of work. Minor errors were noted where "make" was used for "made" (p. 33) and "Sloan J. Buck" for "Solon J. Buck" (p. 462). It is regrettable, perhaps, that the notes appear at the end of the text but it is doubtful if certain of them (pp. 402-403, 440-41) could have been used in their present form at the foot of the page. The volume includes numerous illustrations and maps, three appendixes, and a brief but workable index.

The National Archives

NELSON M. BLAKE

The Coming Empire or Two Thousand Miles in Texas on Horseback. Revised edition by Colonel Nathaniel Alston Taylor. (Dallas: Turner Company, 1936. Pp. ix, 383. \$2.50.)

This is a revised edition of a work originally published in 1877. The new edition differs from the old only in that a few footnotes have been added and several additional articles by the same author have been included. The writer, a newspaper man of considerable versatility, made the trip in 1876 for the purpose of gaining first hand information of the proposed route of the Texas Western Railway, a road which was to extend westward from Houston.

Colonel Taylor traveled on horseback from Houston to Presidio on the Rio Grande, going by way of Lagrange, Lockhart, New Braunfels, San Antonio, Kerrville, Fredericksburg, Fort Mason, Fort McKavett, and Fort Davis. He was a careful and able observer and the record of his journey constitutes a valuable picture of the Texas of fifty years ago. The picture is somewhat obscured, however, by a florid style which is badly cluttered with poetry and allusions to mythology and Greek history.

The description, whether it apply to land, towns, people, or a Texas norther is generally good. The author frequently bemoans the lack of culture on the frontier, but is generous in recognizing the many good qualities of the frontiers-

men. His most pronounced prejudice is directed at the cattleman. In his opinion the cattleman, through long association, assumes the qualities and characteristics of a Texas steer. The sheepman, on the other hand, copies the lamb and lives a life that is "chaste, beautiful and refined." There are many people in Texas who will challenge this theory.

When Colonel Taylor turns from description to history and prophecy he has departed from his field. His discussion of San Felipe leaves much to be desired, while every schoolboy will find fault with his statement that San Antonio was founded in 1692 by Franciscan friars from France. In prophecy he does little better as his excessive optimism often misleads him. Houston has developed as he thought it would, but New Braunfels and many other places have not.

The observations and philosophy of Colonel Taylor are of interest, but the value of the book lies in its description of Texas in 1876.

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas

RALPH STEEN

The Chisholm Trail. By Sam P. Ridings. (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1936. Pp. 591. Illustrated. \$3.50.)

Thousands of cowboys rode the plains in the last half of the past century, but very few have written their experiences and observations. The present generation is deeply indebted to those riders of long ago who have left their stories. This fraternity of daring men was an unorganized group that knew its members. It seems that nearly every one of those who have written knew each other. They rode widely in the course of years spent following herds of Texas longhorns or improved breeds of cattle, and met sooner or later in unexpected places. Tall tales, stories of daring escapes and romances, and songs filled, in part, the long hours in cow camps. The reader of their stories sits today by a pleasant fire in winter or in a cool nook in summer and follows them across prairies imperiled with Indians, winter storms, and stampeding herds. It remains a romantic memory—but it was far from that in real life.

The author has gathered materials from his own experiences and those of his acquaintance, many of whom have now passed over the range during the past score of years, and has written a story that fills a page of much needed history. Ridings knew the Chisholm Trail soon after it was first laid out. He rode the range when the Indians were being driven to their reservations and knew hundreds of them; he knew their agents and their troubles.

The biographical sketches of early cowmen—John Chisum, Colonel O. W. Wheeler, Charles Goodnight, Joseph G. McCoy, "Bill" Malaley, and many others are admirable and complete for such a study as this. These men live again before the reader. The Indian life on reservations, the soldiers, and the agents who worked with them are not wooden men but flesh and blood individuals who swore, prayed, or shot as their vocations demanded.

The first half of the book is given to the background of a trail over which almost countless numbers of cattle were driven or herded. The setting gives familiarity to the cowman's story. The Chisholm Trail itself does not receive the major portion of the study, but rather it is the central theme around which a number of essays are written. Life on the trail and in camp, with its songs and stories, its hardships and joys, is depicted as well as the more well-known writers such as Andy Adams, Charles Siringo, and Emerson Hough have described it. Indian massacres and incidental killings of cowboys are historically placed with an aim of preserving history which is fast disappearing.

An excellent and accurate map showing the Chisholm Trail as it crossed Oklahoma is found in the book. That part of the Trail from Oklahoma through Texas to San Antonio is given but little attention because the Chisholm Trail proper extended only from Wichita, Kansas, to the Anadarko Indian Agency. There were two trails south from the Cimarron River—one bearing southeast to the North Canadian River and then south, which was the cattle trail, the other bearing southwest, which was the traders' trail.

Of the studies concerned with "cowboy days" coming from the press every year or two his is one of the best. Many descendants of those who were a part of the scene still live today in the West. They have no apologies to ask of the writer for he has treated them fairly. This work of Mr. Ridings is fairly definitive; it is sufficiently and aptly illustrated. Students of Southwest history will find it a valuable reference.

University of Oklahoma

M. L. WARDELL

It's A Far Cry. By Robert Watson Winston. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937. Pp. 381. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

Those who have had the pleasure of knowing Judge Winston and his brothers have been expecting this book with great interest. Nominally it is the autobiography of a man of seventy-seven who has lived a full life. Actually it is the story of a family and no less a contribution to the social history of North Carolina and the South since 1865.

The story is simple, that of a boy born in 1860 of well-to-do parents—slaveholders—on a plantation in eastern North Carolina. His first memories are those of life upon an interior plantation to which the family had refuged during the war, while the father, a lawyer as well as a planter, was in the Confederate service in Richmond. Then comes the story of his youth at Windsor Castle, as the family home was called, in one of the black counties of North Carolina. His memory is both photographic and phonographic, and he tells of family life; of his brothers, all three of whom became prominent; of his relatives, whom he counted by the score; of the Negroes; of life in the little town of Windsor, with dozens of apt anecdotes and illustrative stories.

Then came attendance at Horner School and at the revived University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where he and one brother were members of the first class entering after the reopening. A year of teaching at Horner (where he became engaged to the headmaster's daughter) followed. Then came law at Chapel Hill where another brother was professor and later president. Speaking of the influence of his alma mater, he queries: "How could such momentous results flow from an institution so poorly equipped? In September 1875, when I entered the University, it was in no sense what its name implied. There were only seven teachers and fifty odd students, and the physical plant was poor to poverty. But there was much more to Chapel Hill than curriculum and classrooms. A manliness and strength of character dominated the campus." Later he says, "The spirit of hopefulness in college was so unusual as to bear emphasizing."

Next we find him beginning the practice of law in the old town of Oxford with five dollars in his pocket, for his father's affairs had become involved. While waiting for clients he studied constantly and lost no opportunity to make himself known by accepting every invitation to speak, and by taking an active part in county politics. The county was Republican, but using every method available, ethical or not, the Democrats strove for control. "It was amid such surroundings I lived and toiled when first coming to the bar, but fortunately for my peace of mind the untoward surroundings failed to disturb me. I was much too busy getting on in the world to theorize or philosophize, or play the reformer. I doubt if I saw anything amiss in the affairs of North Carolina or in the entire South."

His interest in law and politics bore fruit. Clients came, he was able to marry, and before he was twenty-five he was a state senator and at twenty-nine he was elected to the Superior Court. In those days judges rotated over the entire state, spending only six months in a district. All residents of North Carolina know of the excellent record made by the young judge. Tiring, however, of the discomforts of his peripatetic position he resigned in 1895 to become a member of a leading law firm in Durham, then taking its place at the head of the tobacco industry. Pleasant and prosperous years followed, and then another removal to Raleigh to form a partnership with his old college mate, former Governor Aycock. This relationship was also pleasant and profitable. Within a few years, however, his partner died, and his wife followed a little later. His children were grown, he had amassed a competence, further accumulation of money did not interest him, and he had always wished to write. So he wound up his affairs and went to live at the Cosmos Club in Washington.

His first attempt at writing something other than a lawyer's brief was "North Carolina, a Militant Mediocracy" which appeared first in the *Nation* and then in *These United States*, edited by Ernest Gruening. The story of his difficulty in writing this is amusing. Realizing that he lacked training, he says:

"Singularity enough I concluded to go back to my old college at Chapel Hill. Why I should have done this I am unable to say. Perhaps it was the lure of the Old South. No doubt I was seeking a hobby—something with which to amuse myself in my old age. I may have been longing to discover how far scientific and religious knowledge had advanced since I was graduated forty odd years before. Whatever the reason I did leave the Cosmos and return to Chapel Hill. I matriculated, and became a freshman again at sixty, to the amusement of faculty, students and friends."

He elected English, philosophy, and logic, and soon found that he was working as many hours as when on the bench. He began to read widely in philosophy, history, and sociology. New ideas came to him on sectionalism and race prejudice. A magazine article, "A Freshman at Sixty," appeared in 1924 and attracted attention. He began to study his state and section from new angles and the idea came that he might do something to "interpret the South to the Nation, and the Nation to the South." This meant more work. A sort of pattern developed: in the summer at Williamstown or Sconset; in the fall in the Library at Chapel Hill, moving on to Southern Pines, Charleston, or Savannah as winter approached; back to Chapel Hill in the spring and again in the Williams College Library in the summer—studying, listening, talking with every thoughtful person he met. He accepted numerous invitations to speak North and South. "Blithely I had gone forth attacking the windmills of prejudice, sectionalism and social bitterness."

This period bore fruit in three books, studies of Andrew Johnson, Jefferson Davis, and Robert E. Lee, sound work, all of them, and surprising coming from a man who hardly wrote at all until he was past sixty. Besides these are several magazine articles, and finally this volume, his apologia.

The "trained historian" may say that the book is "lacking in organization." Perhaps it is. If the author remembers an experience of his youth, or an illustrative story of the past, he does not hesitate to tell it when speaking of later years. Sometimes he has applied his mature judgment to youthful actions. He speaks comparatively little of economic considerations, and hardly seems to realize that there is an industrial or an agricultural problem in the South. Nevertheless a picture emerges and readers will wish they might know the author.

College of the City of New York

HOLLAND THOMPSON

A Song Catcher in Southern Mountains. By Dorothy Scarborough. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 476. Illustrations. \$4.50.)

The death of Dorothy Scarborough (November 7, 1935) removed from the world of letters and social science a most interesting personality. Reared and partially educated in Texas, she brought to her teaching, her research work, and her writing the exuberant spirit of the great Southwest. Her energy, her scholar-

ship, her versatility, and above all her sympathetic interest in all people, brought her meritorious recognition and a host of loyal friends. Her last book, here under review, was still in manuscript at the time of her death and may be considered a symbol of the loyal friendship of two of her colleagues. Due to their efforts the study has finally been published.

Dorothy Scarborough spent many years studying and collecting American folk songs and several of her earlier works, such as *From a Southern Porch* (Putnam's, 1919) and *In the Land of Cotton* (MacMillan, 1923), reflect her knowledge of American folklore. Her first ambitious production devoted to her favorite field was *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs* which was published in 1925 by the Harvard University Press. And so *A Song Catcher in Southern Mountains* came from the pen of an authority on Southern folklore and tradition. Hunting folk songs was with her "a constant interest, a passionate as well as scientific pleasure" (Foreword, ix).

The book is more than a collection of ballads and songs although 293 out of 476 pages are devoted to them. The collection is introduced by four charming essays that describe the author's experiences in the mountains of Virginia and North Carolina where the people knew "a kit and bilin' of old songs." The descriptions of mountain life and mountain people are always interesting and amusing and at times vivid although limited in scope by the author's peculiar interests. There was, for example, Mrs. Grace McCurry who had been born between the forks of Sandy Mush, who believed in ghosts, and who had seen the Devil himself streak across the top of a fence. There was the boy who had blown out his sister's brains because she had refused to sweep out the house at his request. Later he had attempted to kill himself with a rifle but was unsuccessful. Perhaps the story of this boy's life will some day be the inspiration for a new tragic ballad. There was the Indian Hiki, who claimed to be a grandson of Sitting Bull, although it was obvious that the blood of the Sioux did not flow untainted in his veins. Hiki declared that he taught at the University of Virginia. "What do you teach," asked Dorothy Scarborough. "I give lessons in mending old furniture," was the reply (p. 21).

Like earlier song catchers and ballad hunters, the author discovered that the mountain people knew very little of the modern world beyond the ridges and that their mode of living had changed but slightly from pioneer days. Some had never been to a large town, or been in an automobile, or used a napkin. And yet we are told that "the mountain boys and girls are keen of mind, eager to learn, with a freshness of intelligence not exhausted by the complexities of civilization. All they ask is a chance at school" (p. 4).

The manner in which the ballads and songs (there are several hundred of them) have been arranged and presented is commendable. With meticulous care the author has given a brief history of each ballad and many paragraphs of an explanatory nature. Frequently psychological interpretations not only reveal

Dorothy Scarborough's knowledge of human nature but stimulate the interest of the reader as well. Wherever possible variations of the ballad or song are given in full. Thus nine versions of "Barbara Allen" (pp. 83-96) and nine versions of "The Waggoner's Lad" (pp. 272-88) are presented.

There is an appendix in which Elna Sherman discusses the modal aspects of some of the folk songs, and there are indexes to first lines and to music as well as a general index. The last is in need of revision.

In addition to the inevitable typographical errors, there are several editorial mistakes. For example, in the preface (p. viii) reference is made to *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs*. The title as it appears on this page is incorrect and the date of publication should be 1925, not 1926. Although both the *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* and the *Journal of the Welsh Folk Song Society* are frequently cited, the word *Irish* is consistently omitted when reference is made to the Irish journal. This is confusing to the reader. One wishes, too, that exact annotation had been given for the statements quoted from Pepys, Goldsmith, and the other authorities frequently called upon. These faults, however, do not materially detract from the intrinsic value of the book.

Transylvania College

F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

Caste and Class in a Southern Town. By John Dollard. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. 502. \$3.50.)

This is a sort of Southern *Middletown*. It differs from the work of the Lynds in that it deals with a situation less complex but more difficult to interpret objectively; furthermore, Dr. Dollard is more direct, more intimate, and less technical in his approach. He was not equipped with a staff of research assistants and he refrained in general from statistical data. A trained sociologist, theoretically acquainted with his subject, but without previous experience in the South, he spent several months consorting daily with all classes of people in both "castes"—white and black—in a more or less typical town and county of the Deep South. As a result he has produced a significant and exceptionally well-balanced panorama of such a community.

"It never occurred to me to consider my own bias," says Dr. Dollard (p. 33), "until I got into the field." But he soon became aware that he had "the typical sectional bias to be expected of a northerner." He found that he had assumed for himself, as an "outsider" is so likely to do, an objectivity which reflection upon his own early notes proved to him that he had not possessed; and that he had unfairly imputed to Southern whites in general a veritably psychopathic irrationality on all matters related to the race question. Having brought these and other types of bias into the light of reason, he set about to overcome them as far as possible, and beyond that to discount them. He was then ready to give due weight to evidence from any and every quarter—a psychic approach all too

rarely acquired in such a situation. And, in the reviewer's opinion, no student in this field—North or South—has ever more nearly approached complete objectivity.

There are five chapters of orientation; dealing in turn with the locale of the study, the research method, the discovery and discounting of bias, Southern attitudes and their historical background, the system of racial caste, and the classes existing within each caste.

Chapters VI-VIII reveal and interpret the "Gains of the White Middle Class"—"Economic," "Sexual," and "Prestige." On the economic side, Dr. Dollard is fully aware, as few Northern critics of the Southern milieu seem to have been, that the Southern "exploiter" of Negro labor is himself the victim of a system which crushes him along with his own "victims." The Southern agricultural landlord, he reminds us, makes on an average about two per cent—and often less than nothing—on his capital investment. If his croppers and wage hands are miserably poor—and certainly they are—how could he give them a decent standard of living under the existing system? "It is quite possible that a better distribution of the existing income would serve rather to impoverish the middle-class whites than to benefit very much the lower-class Negroes or whites" (p. 106). "The whites are automatically caught in this socio-economic situation as are the colored. The middle-class whites are playing their social rôles with no more, but no less, greed and acquisitiveness than any other man in our society exhibits" (pp. 115-16). Ugliness inheres in the whole system, to be sure; but responsibility for it stems from the upper reaches of capitalism, not only in the South but also—and more so—in the North. A Northerner who frankly faces this fact is no Carpetbagger, no Pharisee, and no holy crusader.

In the matter of sex the Southern white man is admittedly a "gentleman"—if the term be defined as one who protects women against all men but himself. He can cross the race line at his will; but the other way around, "niggers" beware! Herein lies, as Dr. Dollard observes, a potent motive for black rape and white lynching. This situation, however irrational, is not without its *raison d'être*, as is the case with lynching in general. However greatly such barbarity may be deplored, it cannot be eradicated by the superficial agencies of "the law"—not even the Federal law. It arises from a social situation which demands more human consideration than "the law" is capable of giving (Chap. XV).

"Caste Patterning" is considered (Chaps. IX-XI) in relation to education, politics, and religion. Negro schools in the Deep South are poor—often miserably poor—but white schools in the poorer communities are not very much better. The fact is the communities are poor, and often they spend more on schools in proportion to per capita wealth than do many good-school communities in the North (pp. 203-204). Again it's the system and a powerful argument for Federal aid.

Religion, to black and white, is at once a firebrand and a narcotic; its interpretation of "sin" is superficial; its awareness of vital social problems is virtually nil.

There is more that is worth while about "Accommodation Attitudes," Negro and white aggressions, "Defensive Beliefs," "Gains of the Lower Class Negroes," and "Caste Symbolism." In it all the author has maintained, with a few exceptions perhaps, his determined objectivity.

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina ALEX M. ARNETT

The Health Status and Health Education of Negroes in the United States. Journal of Negro Education, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 259-587. (Washington: The Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, 1937. Pp. 328. \$2.00.)

This volume, sixth in the series of Yearbook numbers of the *Journal of Negro Education*, has for its purpose the presentation of a critical survey of the present status of Negro health, health facilities, and health education in the United States. In purpose, policy, and scope the work is sociological rather than historical in character. Since the field of Negro health is so broad and the data so voluminous, this study is the work of many contributors with consequent variation in treatment and overlapping in topic. It is the purpose of the contributors to assemble and interpret data already available rather than to make original investigations. The contents are divided into five parts: "The Health Status of Negroes"; "Health Facilities Available to Negroes"; "Health Education of Negroes"; "A Critical Summary of the Yearbook"; and a "Selected, Annotated Bibliography."

Since it is impossible to disassociate the Negro from American, and particularly Southern, history, there is an ever-growing need for a critical appreciation of his position in American history. Today, too much is written and taught which presents the Negro only as he affects the white race, and not as a vital, positive element of American life. This position is particularly true of those Southern historians who are too imbued with the ante-bellum South and slavery to shift their mental gears after passing the period of the War between the States. Such volumes as *The Health Status and Health Education of Negroes in the United States* will enable historians to gain a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the Negro and his contributions to both the white and black races.

Historical Records Survey

V. L. BEDSOLE

The Reorganization and Consolidation of State Administration in Louisiana. By The Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University, R. L. Carleton, Director. Series No. 1. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1937. Pp. 270. Charts. \$2.00.)

This book is a report on the first survey project of the Bureau of Government Research, recently established by the Department of Government in Louisiana

State University. It is not only timely, but constitutes a valuable addition to similar studies in the field of state government.

The first part of this report is devoted to an analysis of the problem of state administration. The complex mechanism found in the unreorganized states is justly criticized from five points of view, namely, lack of uniformity in organization, disintegrated functional setup, costly operation, absence of unifying and directing authority, and the failure to provide a system of personnel supervision. In a word, such archaic machinery and methods of operation are condemned as inadequate to the efficient performance of governmental duties required of a modern state.

The author then sketches the history and practice of the administration in the reorganized and consolidated states. This comparative study of what has been or may be accomplished along this line emphasizes in a convincing manner the shortcomings of existing defective organizations. It is one of the best summaries of the consolidation movement that has come to the attention of this reviewer.

Turning to Louisiana, Professor Carleton devotes 172 pages to separate write-ups of the 174 offices, boards, and commissions known to the law of that state. Constitutional, statutory, and judicial provisions are cited, and descriptions of the head, type, compensation, duties, and powers are included. Convinced that "practically the same criticisms can be made of the Louisiana system as have been made with regard to the other unreorganized and disintegrated state systems" (p. 46), he proceeds to offer two possible plans as a basis of simplifying the unwieldy structure through the adoption of a short ballot and the fixing of relationships that center mainly in the governor. The first involves constitutional and statutory revision and, in his judgment, is the one "best calculated to serve the present needs of Louisiana" (p. 220). In proposing a statutory code alone as a possible alternative, Professor Carleton apparently bows to the realization that the practice of diffusion in administration is supported by a tradition that is grounded in the minds of an uninformed electorate. Excellent charts of both plans, as well as of the present structure, are appended.

The suggested reforms are based on sound principles of political science and should serve as a substantial contribution to a better understanding of the necessity of constructing a simple and responsible form of governmental organization.

The author of this otherwise admirable report must be criticized, however, for the manner in which he has presented the detailed explanation of the present administrative system of Louisiana. It contains primary information heretofore inaccessible "to all except the student of government and the lawyer" (p. 47), but it is tedious to read. In the opinion of this reviewer, the array of legal provisions should have been relegated to the footnotes or to an appendix, instead of being spread over page after page of the body of the work. Many will wish, also, that the description of machinery had been clothed with the vestments of actual operation as a going concern. That is to say, information with respect to

the nature of the major subjects of state activity and a brief analysis of functions and problems in the various fields would have added much in the determination of what is appropriate as detailed structural reforms.

The Citadel

JAMES K. COLEMAN

Historical News and Notes

Members of the Southern Historical Association are reminded of the third annual meeting which will convene in Durham and Chapel Hill, November 18-20, with Duke University and the University of North Carolina as joint hosts. The program of the meeting was announced in the August issue of the *Journal*.

PERSONAL

John E. Pomfret of Princeton University, who has been serving as secretary of the Committee on Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid of the Social Science Research Council during the past two years, has been appointed professor of history and dean of the Graduate School at Vanderbilt University.

Under a grant from the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Texas and with the aid of the George W. Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the same institution, Professor Charles W. Ramsdell has undertaken to direct the making of micro-film copies of a large number of important groups of manuscripts, pamphlets, and newspapers in the field of Texas, Southern, and particularly Confederate history. Mr. Barnes F. Lathrop, research associate, is in charge of the field work and during the late summer and early fall has been making films at various historical libraries in New England. He is now in Washington, D. C., and will later visit the more important centers in the South. These films will supplement the already large collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts in the Library of the University of Texas.

Mr. Kenneth Chorley, president of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, announces two recent appointments. Hunter Dickinson Farish of Harvard University succeeds Harold R. Shurtleff as director of the department of research and education. Mr. Shurtleff is retiring as active head of the department on account of ill health, but will continue to be identified with the Restoration in an advisory capacity. Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock, who has been identified with the Restoration since 1929 in various research positions, has been appointed archivist of Colonial Williamsburg.

The Restoration has an extensive manuscript collection consisting of Williamsburg and Virginia materials which has been assembled since 1928. Mrs. Bullock is at present organizing this material and is also cataloging and calendaring the valuable Norton Papers, a collection of approximately five thousand mercantile letters dealing with the Virginia-London trade of colonial days. In the special

reference library, maintained by the Restoration, Mrs. Bullock acts in an advisory capacity to students and scholars who wish to have access to its collection of documents.

R. L. Hilldrup, East Carolina Teachers College, wishes to find information concerning Edmund Pendleton papers which have been misplaced during recent years. Significant correspondence between James Madison and Pendleton and documents relating to transactions at law between Madison and Carter Braxton cannot be located. Reprints of about half of these letters are in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, second series, XIX, and copies of them are in the Force Transcripts, but the other half, although believed to be in existence, have not been found after diligent search in the principal libraries. Assistance in discovering the missing portion of the collection will be greatly appreciated by Professor Hilldrup.

New appointments which became effective in September: J. Wesley Hoffman of Montana State College has been appointed professor of European history, Paul K. Walp of Marshall College assistant professor of political science and history, and Harold W. Stoke of the University of Nebraska lecturer in political science, while serving as Supervisor of Public Administration in the Tennessee Valley Authority, at the University of Tennessee; Louis Knott Koontz, associate professor of history, University of California at Los Angeles, and managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, visiting professor of history, and Frederick W. Hoeing, who holds an A.M. degree from Harvard University, instructor in history at the College of William and Mary; Mrs. W. Mary Bryant, J. Garland Downum, Thomas R. Havens, William T. Jackson, Ohland Morton, and Ralph Smith part-time instructors in history at the University of Texas; Wilfred O. Stout, Jr., instructor in history at the University of Chattanooga; and John Huntley Dupre associate professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

The newly appointed director of the College of Charleston Library for the session 1937-1938 is J. H. Easterby who has been released from the greater part of his teaching duties in the college. An expanded library program is designed to supplement the efforts of other Charleston institutions in collecting and preserving Southern historical materials.

A study of epidemics by John S. Chambers of the University of Kentucky will be published by the Macmillan Company under the title, "Miasma to Microbes." "Theodore de Croix, and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783," by Alfred B. Thomas of the University of Alabama, will be issued soon by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Theses in history for the doctorate recently completed at the University of North Carolina are: Charles Edward Cauthen, "Secession and Civil War in South Carolina"; Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, "The Secession Movement in North

Carolina, 1847-1861"; J. H. Wolfe, "Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina"; and Comer Vann Woodward, "The Political and Literary Career of Thomas B. Watson."

Fremont P. Wirth of Peabody College for Teachers has issued recently (Boston: American Book Company, 1936, 1xviii, 722 pp., \$2.20) *The Development of America*, designed to meet the needs of "the public school curriculum."

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The seventh annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association was held on April 10 at Columbia. The following papers were presented at the meeting: "Loyalist Migration from South Carolina," by Robert W. Barnwell; "The Nature and Volume of Exports from Charleston, 1724-1774," by Charles J. Gayle; "The Work of Soldiers' Aid Societies in South Carolina During the Civil War," by James W. Patton; and "The Thoroughbred in South Carolina," by W. H. Mills. Officers elected for the year 1937-1938 were: F. Dudley Jones, Presbyterian College, president; James W. Patton, Converse College, vice president; Miss Fannie Belle White, Columbia High School, secretary and treasurer.

The three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the coming of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" was celebrated at Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island, July 4 to September 6. The North Carolina Historical Commission arranged displays for the Fort Raleigh Museum. On August 18, the birthday of Virginia Dare, President Roosevelt and other notables visited the island, bringing the celebration to its climax.

The regular annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina has been set for Thursday and Friday, December 2 and 3. Dumas Malone, director of the Harvard University Press, will be the principal speaker on the closing night.

Historical projects in North Carolina under the various Federal agencies are progressing rapidly. The marriage bonds in the archives of the Historical Commission are being rechecked as a National Youth Administration project under the supervision of D. L. Corbitt. Abstracts of fifty-three boxes of land grants have been completed and the index of John W. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States*, is being continued. Lists of county records are being prepared for the press by the Historical Records Survey, of which Dan Lacy is state director. These lists are to be published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, the first to appear in October. Inventories of public manuscript collections and data from tombstones are being assembled. The Survey of Federal Archives is being continued in North Carolina, as in several other states, as a state project with Miss Emily Bridges as supervisor. The Guide to the Federal Archives in North Carolina remains to be done.

The state of Florida has recently accepted the gift by the late John Ringling of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art at Sarasota. The museum boasts "an expensive collection of the world's finest masterpieces of art, including paintings, pictures, tapestries, antiques, sculptures, and library of art books."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The Church of England in Colonial Virginia (Story and Pageant Series, No. 55, Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing Company, 22 pp., 25 cents), by Edgar Legare Pennington, is a documentary study of early co-operation and effort of the Church of England in colonizing Virginia. According to this pamphlet, the Church's influence had much to do with the control and success of the settlement.

Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi (Baton Rouge: Otto Claitor, 1937, xii, 158 pp., \$3.00), by H. S. Fulkerson, is reprinted with a biographical sketch of the author and an introduction by P. L. Rainwater of the University of Mississippi. The author presented it as a "fragmentary history"; the present publisher offers the book as a "rare work" which has "long been the object of search by collectors of Mississippiana." It contains material from a period when the state was still a frontier and gives an intimate view of society and its problems through the Reconstruction period.

Historic Tennessee (Knoxville: Historic Tennessee Publishing Company, 1937, 56 pp., 50 cents), by Charles Lynnval Larew, is "A brief historical and biographical sketch of Tennessee and Tennesseans prepared especially for the busy reader." There are a number of engravings and several maps which add to the value of the pamphlet. It is written in such a concise manner that much information about Tennessee is presented in a few pages.

The Cherokees of the Smoky Mountains (Ithaca, New York, 1936, 36 pp.), rewritten from the Papers of Horace Kephart, is a study of a band of some eighteen thousand Indians who inhabit the "Qualla boundary," an area of ninety square miles in southwestern North Carolina. The pamphlet reviews the history of the Cherokee from their appearance on Southern soil, emphasizes their resistance to removal to the trans-Mississippi West in the Jackson period, and analyzes the present status of the Eastern Cherokee in the Qualla region.

The *Lexington Herald* and the *Lexington Leader* have deposited complete files of their papers in the University of Kentucky Library.

Recent acquisitions to the manuscript division of the West Virginia University Library include approximately 3000 additional letters of Jonathan M. Bennett, auditor of Virginia from 1858 to 1865, bringing the total in the Bennett Collection to about 68,000; photostatic copies of 6 additional "Stonewall" Jackson letters; 2000 pieces of legal papers of Pendleton County, (West) Virginia, for

the period 1777 to 1880; the extensive diary (1838-1849) of General Isaac H. Duval, containing the journal of his early years in Arkansas and Texas as a storekeeper, trader, Indian fighter, and hunter, and a trip overland through Texas and Mexico to California gold fields in 1849; A. Brooks Fleming Papers, about 50,000 pieces, embracing chiefly the family, political, business, and legal papers of the former governor of West Virginia, northern West Virginia coal operator, and Standard Oil Company counsel; Hampshire County, (West) Virginia, Public Records for the period 1753-1863, approximately 8000 pieces, chiefly legal instruments; the diary, a daily journal of seven booklets, of Mrs. Sarah Morgan McKown for the period 1860-1866, which throws light on Civil War conditions and activities in Berkeley County, (West) Virginia; the John W. Mason Collection of 450 letters and 291 pamphlets which pertain to the Virginia debt question; and 380 volumes of West Virginia newspapers, most of which antedate 1900.

Among recent additions to the materials in the custody of The National Archives are the records of three temporary agencies of the World War period—the War Industries Board, the Council of National Defense, and the Committee on Public Information. This collection, which measures over 5000 linear feet and embraces correspondence, minutes of meetings, surveys, reports, questionnaires, compilations of data, and clipping files, is invaluable for the study of civilian activities and of government supervision and control of them during the years 1916 to 1921 inclusive. A group of records received from the department of state includes the acts and resolutions of Congress, 1789-1923; treaties with Indian tribes, 1722-1868; records of various expositions, 1867-1915; records of the Russian American Company, 1818-1867; and papers relating to electoral votes, 1888-1932.

Among other recent acquisitions are records of the treasury department relating to the functions of receiving and accounting for the receipt of public funds, 1814-1930; customhouse records of shipping at various ports of entry, 1762-1815; estate tax returns and related papers of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, 1916-1925; records of the department of justice relating to closed Court of Claims cases, 1868-1921; routine records of the Hydrographic Office, 1907-1929; correspondence and miscellaneous records of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the department of the navy, 1842-1911; records of the former Bureau of Navigation of the department of the treasury and later of the department of commerce, 1789-1931, and of the former Steamboat Inspection Service, 1852-1932, agencies now merged in the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation of the department of commerce; records of the Office of Education, including correspondence and other papers of the commissioner, 1875-1929, of the Alaska Division, 1901-1922, of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, 1923-1924, and of the National Survey of the Education of Teachers, 1930-1933; records of

the Danish West Indies, now the Virgin Islands, prior to their acquisition by the United States, 1733-1917; and records of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency created by President Taft, 1911-1913.

Among manuscript materials recently acquired by the Louisiana State University Department of Archives are the papers of John Bisland of Natchez. The collection contains approximately 1500 items from the period 1763-1895. The greater part of it consists of letters written to members of the family, but there are also diaries, plantation records, and a family Bible. The papers collected by J. D. Calhoun of Vidalia, Louisiana, comprising approximately 200 items from the years 1800-1896, include Concordia Parish documents, letters, photostats, and maps. The papers of Arthur W. Hyatt, a colonel in the Confederate army, reveal much of interest on the movements of troops, life in the camps, and social conditions in the army. The collection is in 98 pieces and 4 diaries and covers the period from 1861 to 1892. The collection of a transplanted Irishman, Patrick Murphey, of Natchez, Mississippi, illustrates the life of the typical small planter of the Natchez district. It consists of 19 time books, 8 ledgers, 12 diaries, and over 300 unbound items, and spans the years 1859 to 1894. The Laura Scott Papers from Sicily Island reveal the life of central Louisiana from the year 1850 to 1936. The collection contains some 300 letters written to Mrs. Scott who in her youth was a close friend of the noted Johns Hopkins. The portion of this collection written by Hopkins has been deposited in the Johns Hopkins Library by members of the Scott family.

Florida is now following the example of Texas in instituting a Union Catalog of materials pertaining to itself and its history. The Union Catalog of Floridiana, established at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, "will unquestionably advance knowledge of that state by providing a useful tool by which historians and other writers may more effectively prosecute their researches."

Articles on the Upper South: "Governor Horatio Sharpe and His Maryland Government," by Paul H. Giddens, "Poe's Literary Baltimore," by John C. French, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (July); "An Introduction to the History of Bermuda," second installment, by W. F. Craven, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (July); "Gold Mining in Antebellum Virginia," continued, by Fletcher M. Green, and "Some Early Nottoway County History," by W. R. Turner, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July); "Edmund Pendleton Gaines: Railroad Propagandist," by James W. Silver, "Banking and Finance in Tennessee During the Depression of 1837," by Claude A. Campbell, "James K. Polk and Tennessee Politics, 1839-1841," by Powell Moore, "The Nomenclature of the Great Smoky Mountains," by Paul M. Fink and Myron H. Avery, "Tennessee's Attitude toward the Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," by James W. Patton, and "The Entrance of the Farmers' Alliance into Tennessee Politics," by J. A. Sharp, in the

East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (1937); "Senator Henry S. Lane," by Theodore G. Gronert, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (July); "George Sealsfield, A Forgotten Discoverer of the Valley of the Mississippi," by Otto Heller, and "The *Missouri Democrat* and the Civil War," by Lucy Lucille Tasher, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (July).

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CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM RANSOM HOGAN is regional historian, National Park Service.

JOSEPH C. ROBERT is instructor in history at Ohio State University.

B. I. WILEY is professor of history at Mississippi State Teachers College, Hattiesburg.

STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE is assistant professor of history at the University of Tennessee.

PAUL EVANS is professor of history and head of the department at the University of Vermont.

THOMAS P. GOVAN is instructor in history at the University of Chattanooga, on leave for the current year.

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